





COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE CHICAGO,  
ILLINOIS, AREA  
PART 2

---

APPENDIX TO  
HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-NINTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

MAY 25, 26, 27, AND JUNE 22, 1965  
(INCLUDING INDEX)

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Committee on Un-American Activities



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## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### RULE XII

##### LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 89TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 4, 1965

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

#### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

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(a) Un-American activities.

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\* \* \* \* \*

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

# COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AREA—Part 2

## APPENDIX

### HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 1

#### BY - LAWS

The State By-Laws of this organization are based on the constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America and are formulated to implement that constitution in accordance with the needs of the state organization.

#### ARTICLE 1. NAME

The name of the organization shall be the Communist Party of the State of Illinois.

#### ARTICLE 11. STRUCTURE

Section 1. Clubs The size of the clubs shall be determined by the club in consultation with the next higher body. In no case shall there be less than three members in a club.

It is recommended that regular club meeting should be held twice monthly, but in no case less than once a month.

Club officers shall be elected once a year. The state committee shall set the month for annual elections. Clubs shall be notified at least two months in advance.

Where vacancies occur during the term of office, club officers may be replaced by a majority vote of the club.

A club may recall an officer for cause by two-thirds vote of the members.

Financial reports shall be made at least twice a year to the club or section.

Section 2. Sections. The state committee shall establish whatever sections and other intermediary forms as it deems best suited to carry out the needs and policies of the Party.

Section committees shall include section officers and members at large as deemed necessary elected at section conventions plus an elected delegate from each club. It is recommended that section committees meet at least once a month.

Section officers shall consist of at least a chairman, educational director and treasurer and any additional officers deemed necessary.

In case vacancies occur during the term of office section committees have the right to elect replacements by majority vote.

Section financial reports shall be made at least twice a year to the section, clubs and state.

A section officer may be removed for cause by two-third vote of the section committee subject to ratification by two-third of the clubs.

#### ARTICLE III. STATE AND SECTION CONVENTIONS

Section 1. State Conventions The state convention shall meet in conjunction with the national convention.

Section 2. Section Conventions Section conventions shall be held in conjunction with state and national conventions.

#### ARTICLE IV. STATE COMMITTEE.

Section 1. The state committee is the highest governing body between convention

Section 2. The size of the state committee shall be determined at each convention. The state committee shall be elected at the state convention. Nominations shall be made at the state convention. Section conventions may submit nominations of any party member eligible.

Section 3: The number of officers and size of the state board shall be determined by the state committee. The state officers and state board shall be elected by the state committee. The state committee has the right to make whatever changes in officers and board it deems advisable at any time

Section 4. The state committee shall meet at least four times a year.

Section 5. State financial reports shall be issued at least twice a year to the state committee, sections and clubs.

HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2

-Convention Preparations:

National Convention Dec. 11, 12, & 13, New York City.

Pre-convention discussion period - Sept. 10 to Dec. 10.

Sept. 10 to contain: Main Draft Resolution.

Draft Resolution on Negro Question.

Other resolutions: The Party - Party Consolidation,  
Labor Question,  
Youth Question.

State organization to draft main political resolution for the state - to go to the clubs and sections.

Friday, Sept. 11 - a functionaries meeting as a kick-off m't'g on the pre-conv. disc.  
-preparations for the 40th anniv. celebration.  
-discussion on the state political resolution.

For the discussion, there will be three Nat'l bulletins and two state bulletins.

Word Limit - 750 for the nat'l bulletin

-500 for the state bulletin

-no anonymous articles to be accepted.

Delegates: State conventions will elect delegates to national convention.

-organized districts - one delegate for each 50 members, up to 100 members, 2 dels.

-unorganized districts -one delegate.

Illinois: will be entitled to not quite ten delegates -four members short of totals.

Fraternal delegates: 25% of our regular delegates -in keeping with the maximum participation from Midwest industrial areas.

Referendums: that a referendum be conducted on the question of the election of the National Committee -

-that the national convention should not be bound by Art. 5, Sec. 5 of the Const.

-political reasons involved incorrect procedure, violation of dem. cent'ism

-these referendum forms are already in the sections, one for each club, should be acted upon at coming meetings.

State conventions: the state political resolution will come before the state comm. by the end of September.

-main discussion at the convention will be on the main resolution.

State Board: set up number of state convention committees -four pre-convention committees at this time to prepare various aspects of the convention: 1/

1. Resolutions committee: Lou D. Chairman, Flo. L.W. Mike S. ~~Chairman~~

2. Conv. Arrangements Comm: Geraldine, Ch., Fritzie, ~~Ch.~~ L. Wick. ~~Chairman~~ Mollie G

3. Const. & By-Laws: Mollie W, Ch., ~~Chairman~~ Earl D.

4. Publicity Comm: -discussion bulletin - David E. Ch, ~~Chairman~~ Jack K. ~~Chairman~~  
Lil. G. ~~Chairman~~

-state board members will work with committees.

1/ Miss Holmes informed the committee she received this exhibit exactly as reproduced above, with the initials and names in the last paragraph crossed out, though not completely obscured, with red ink. Miss Holmes has no definite knowledge as to why these deletions were made. The deleted initials and names were: Line 1, "& Mc."; line 2, "L.D."; "McPher"; line 3, "Randy"; "Dot D."; line 4, "Earl D."; "Jack K."; "Art".

# HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

State Conv. Sessions: to be held in two sessions.

- first session in the first half of November, to act upon the nat'l and state resolutions,
- to elect delegates to the nat'l conv.,
- amendments to constitution, etc.

- Second session in the first half of January -to report back from Nat'l Conv.
- to discussion and work out a plan of work for the next year;
- a one-year plan;
- act on by-laws;
- elect state committees.

Section conventions; to be held in two parts:

- first session from last week in Sept. thru Nov. 8.
- second session to be held following second session of state conv.
- the section conventions will follow the main line of the state conv., in the election of delegates, etc.
- the second session will report back from second session of state conv. & elect section committees, etc.

Nominating Committee: the state convention will have a nominating committee whose function will be to make nominations for the nat'l conv.

- at the second session it will make nominations for the state committee.
- these pre-convention committees will be called together by their respective chairmen.

Resolutions: All resolutions from clubs and sections will be turned over to the resolutions committee.

Amendments to Constitution: all recommendations for amendments to the constitution will be turned over to the constitution committee.

Articles for publications: all articles for publication will be turned over to the publicity committee.

Delegates from Industrial sections: industrial sections will be entitled to two delegates each for 15 members.

- alternate/ delegates will be limited to one.
- each delegate will pull his full strength that he is entitled to.
- no block vote.
- state committee members are to stand for election of delegates in their section.

Size of State Conv: all told, including alternates, about 1000 people.

- only on the basis of a majority vote can anyone be elected.

- - - -

Preparations for 40th Anniv.:

1. Tickets - organized dist. and regular check-up necessary, approach:
  - each member to sell one or more tickets.
2. Make a list of people, former members, sympathizers, etc.
3. Mag. Sects: 25 tickets
4. Gift envelopes - systematically push.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-A

RECOMMENDATIONS ON SOME PROCEEDURAL  
QUESTIONS FOR SECTION CONVENTIONS

At the request of a number of sections, and on the proposal of the Org-Ed. Commission, the following recommendations are made to all sections in relation to the section conventions:

1. While each section works out its convention agenda for itself, all sections should follow certain minimum uniform procedures, such as:
  - a. Establish time limit for discussion under each point;
  - b. Adopt a rule that no one speaks twice until all have had a chance to speak at least once.
  - c. Whenever possible, duplication of discussion should be avoided; for example, -try to conduct discussion of reports on basis of motions and resolutions presented either in reports or immediately following reports, thereby circumventing need for second round of discussions on basis of separate presentation of motions following discussions. Efforts to so facilitate discussion, however, should not be employed where differences arise and further debate is needed. But further debate should be so organized and placed on a time limit basis to allow completion of all the work before each convention session.
  - d. Sufficient paper and pens should be on hand to facilitate note-taking and the conduct of secret ballot on all major voting. (Not all voting has to be on secret ballot, -for example, chairmen of sessions may be elected by show of hands if the delegates prefer. However, major voting, such as on election of delegates to state convention, election of section committee in second session, etc., should be on secret ballot).
  - e. In electing delegates to the state convention, nominations should be made all at one time. Each comrade should be asked to vote for a number of nominees equal to the size of the delegation allocated to the section on the basis of dues payments. Those receiving the highest number of votes shall be the delegation. For example, let us say a section is entitled to 7 delegates to the state convention, and 12 comrades are nominated. The seven highest among the 12 become the delegates, -irrespective of the number of votes received by, say, the 5th, 6th and 7th highest (who may not receive a majority of actual votes).
  - f. With respect to the election of an alternate delegate, the section convention may decide to elect such separately, or that the next highest in the regular delegate election be the alternate (for example, in the above illustration, the 8th highest vote might become the alternate).
  - g. Each section should draw up proposed rules for conduct of section convention, including, but not limited to, the above recommendations. These proposed rules should be presented at outset of convention and acted upon, thereby providing the convention with ground rules for settling any questions (or most questions) of procedure that might arise, and facilitating the smoothest possible, organized and democratic expediting of the convention's business.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-B

No.1 OCTOBER 1959

## THE PARTY

FORUM

## ILLINOIS PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Published by the Communist Party of Illinois - 36 W. Randolph

HOW CAN THE PEOPLE REALLY UNITE TO BEAT BACKTHE REACTIONARY OFFENSIVE OF BIG BUSINESS?

By Sam Kushner

The national draft resolution poses the question of unity of the forces of progress with the aim of thwarting the goals of reaction and for the building of a movement, or series of movements which will culminate in a great anti-monopoly coalition to advance the best interests of the American people.

This perspective and goal is one which finds overwhelming support from the members of our Party. The resolution, necessarily, places many questions in a most general way. This has led to varied interpretations and different conclusions by many people.

Some of this ambiguity could have and should have been avoided. ANY MAIN RESOLUTION OF OUR PARTY MUST DEAL MORE CONCRETELY WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND MOST PARTICULARLY WITH THE ROLE OF THE UNIONS.

Automation, speedup, the deterioration of working conditions and crass anti-Negro discrimination are among the host of problems plaguing the working class in the shops. In situation after situation there is beginning to emerge greater unity, at the department, the shop and local union level to combat the attacks of the employers.

This unity of the rank and file is decisive and has already brought about realignments among the rank and file in many instances. The cold war inspired anti-Communist bias has begun to fade in some places. The realignments, include left forces, especially in industries and shops where the struggles have been sharp and where the left has applied the tactic of the United Front with skill and understanding.

It is not the purpose of this brief article to detail the many instances where this has occurred. Careful study of the Political Affairs and The Worker will substantiate this contention.

The situation down below, in the ranks of labor, is quite uneven. While many are unemployed, others are working overtime. While some sectors are vigorously resisting speedup, others are capitulating to the onslaught of the employers. At best, we have a varied picture, one which must be more carefully studied, industry by industry, and analyzed.

Some have begun to argue that the main drawback to the greater militance of the rank and file of labor is the reactionary role of the labor leadership. This is an oversimplified approach to the question, and from the point of view of developing the united front can lead to serious errors.

Large sectors of the rank and file STILL view their leaders positively, even if critically. They know that sectors of that leadership fought hard against the right to soab law in places like Ohio. That in Illinois sectors of the leadership called for a statewide demonstration in the state capital for increased unemployment compensation. (continued on p. 2)

## ENDING FACTIONALISM

BY J.H.

The final section of the main resolution is on the Communist Party, its inner problems and its role. This section is, I believe, the decisive part of the resolution. For surely, political unity of our Party, built on solid foundations, is the key to permanently effective mass work.

It is, of course, possible to have mass work without political clarity. And it is possible to have political clarity without mass work. The one leads to opportunism, giving up the class struggle; the other leads to hopeless sectarianism and dogmatism for the sake of dogma. The fulfillment of the Party's vanguard role requires the combination of both factors; theoretical clarity and its practical application. Herein is embodied the idea of the unity of theory and practice. There can be no separation of the two. A correct theory, in itself, does not automatically result in the necessary close ties with the masses, the extension of the Party's mass influence. Neither does mass work, in itself automatically result in the solution of the main danger of opportunism, and of the left sectarian danger within the Party. To realize the goal of a vanguard Party, solidly based on the science of Marxism-Leninism and closely linked with the masses - we must employ our main and indispensable weapon of criticism and self criticism.

In this section, The Party, let me take up one specific point - ending factionalism - which I think is not properly or adequately developed. I quote the whole paragraph, which consists of only one sentence. "Above all, the Party must conduct an uncompromising struggle to eradicate from its ranks every vestige of the destructive evil of factionalism."

Certainly it is true, as has been pointed out, that right opportunism and leftist - sectarianism are in the first place the result of the propaganda and pressures of the capitalist environment.

To counteract rightist and leftist errors, we must first recognize that so long as a capitalist ruling class exists in our country and in the world, these tendencies, and the embryonic factionalism growing out of them, will continue to exist. These tendencies cannot be ended "once and for all." If we are to have a healthy, united and effective Party, inner-party ideological struggle must be continuous. All of us have to learn, and keep on learning - not only through action in the class-struggle, but in study, thought and the clash of opinion. The clash of opinion should be comradely, but at times it should be sharp. My emphasis on the necessity of ideological inner-struggle has nothing in common with the revisionist proposition of the "right of dissent." What I refer to is genuine inner-Party struggle grounded on the principles of democratic centralism, which combines the elements of the fullest democracy with the principle of centralism and unity of action of the entire Party. (Continued on p. 2)

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-B—Continued

## Page 2 How Can the People Unite?

(continued from p. 1)

The examination must be made, in analyzing the role of the labor leaders at all levels, in light of their response to THE DEMANDS OF THE RANK AND FILE. In the days ahead there will be increasing shifting of positions, all down the line. Some among the labor leaders and overwhelmingly among the rank and file.

The issues facing the people in the shops need to be more clearly spelled out in the Draft Resolution and the delineation of the positions taken by different labor leaders needs an estimate by our Party. If it is true that sectors of big business have taken a more positive position on peace than others, and if it is true that some business interests find themselves in conflict with big monopoly then can we expect less division and differences in the ranks of the labor leadership in the future.

Especially is this true as the pressure from the rank and file makes itself more felt in the rarified atmosphere of hierarchy of labor.

Those who seek real simple answers, those which can be answered with a quick cliché, to a most complicated situation should remind themselves of some of the short-cut and oversimplified "answers" of the past. The resolution needs to tackle some of the bigger problems and indicate a direction for the future. This will help end some of the ambiguity that surrounds it.



BUILD THE WORKER

## ENDING FACTIONALISM

(continued from p. 1)

Secondly, this inner-Party struggle must be encouraged, not suppressed. Very commonly, to my knowledge, it has been stifled - stifled by hostile attitudes, or by a threat. If we have the right attitude toward inner-Party struggle, opportunism, either of the rightist or the leftist variety will seldom develop in a major way, and will not long continue as a serious threat to the Party and its work. Comrade Krushchev recently characterized as "factionalism" the practice of the majority in the United Nations Assembly. This majority, under U. S. Leadership, seeks to out-vote the minority, he pointed out, rather than seek mutually acceptable solutions to questions. The attitude which seeks to dominate, rather than convince, is essentially factionalist - whether found in the majority or the minority. At this point, I am very sure, we need much criticism and self-criticism, and certainly a major correction of our practice.

Unity calls for building the unity of the Party, not simply "guarding unity." And I mean unity in both theory and practice, in both thought and action. This inner-Party struggle, this building of unity, while a never-ending task is a rewarding task. It is part of our political life and our growth and our effectiveness.

I should like to see this paragraph of the resolution read something like this: "Above all, let us build the unity of the Party - a unity that comes out of jointly thinking through our theoretical problems and our action problems."

## INDUSTRIAL WORK IN ILLINOIS by two members of the Wagenknecht Section

History has shaped itself with the joining of two sections of labor, AFL and CIO, into one combined federation. This joining, made on top, maintains the same general leadership, with slight changes of title and function.

If the Party in Illinois is to fulfill its historic role as a vanguard, a clear analysis must be made of labor reformism. That work can be done is clear because of the sharp and extensive class battles that are developing in the labor movement.

The long strikes in Steel and Packing (Swift), and the RR brotherhoods approaching strike crises, reflect the determination of the employers to cripple if not destroy the trade union movement. In the light of these and impending class battles, labor finds itself in a crisis of leadership. This crisis stems, in great measure, from the role of the top trade union leaders in relation to foreign policy.

The direct commitment of most all the labor leaders behind the Meany, Reuther leadership to support the cold war policies of big business has led the labor movement into a dead end. It has robbed the workers of effective leadership to combat the attacks of reaction on the labor unions.

In the past we have found the leaders of the trade union movement accommodating themselves to the Taft-Hartley Law and learning to live with it.

We now see the same tendencies displayed during the course of the McLeellan anti-labor "investigations" and in the debates on anti-labor legislation in Congress. In place of presenting a united front of labor resisting these investigations and uniting to expose Congress'

anti-labor objectives, we have seen the trade union leadership invest these hearings with a stamp of approval by taking up the hue and cry of "cleaning the racketeers out of the unions". The Teamsters were expelled from the house of labor in furtherance of this policy.

A similar approach was taken toward bills pending in the 86th Congress. Instead of fighting government interference in union affairs, an official blessing was given to the passage of a "good" bill which the leadership-designated "Friends of labor", Douglas and Kennedy, would guide through Congress. The obvious result of this tactic, which confused and disarmed the union memberships, resulted in the passage of the very worst bill, a variant of the Landrum-Griffin Bill.

This ties the labor reformists to the big business strategy of isolating labor from the rest of the population while creating dissension and distrust within the ranks of labor itself.

Another means of dividing workers and rendering them impotent is the fallacious theory that wage increases and fringe benefits are unreasonable demands which are responsible for inflation and rising taxes. The main factor behind inflation and high taxes is kept hidden from the eyes of labor and the rest of the people - the high cost of military spending and the huge profits amassed by the military profiteers. Again, the labor reformists give sanction to this thinking by endorsing the cold war policies.

The Party's main resolution and state resolution cannot be complete without making clear to Party members and the labor movement that these cold war policies have resulted in one defeat after another for labor and will continue to do so until the labor leadership is forced to abandon its support of these policies.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-B—Continued

## THE DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS Page 3

A Draft Resolution proposed by R.B.

Despite the easing of tensions in world affairs, there is no sign of a comparable let-up in the domestic cold war against the constitutional rights of the American people. A basic estimate of this attack, its source and direction, is a necessary foundation for effective leadership in the defense of our liberties:-

The trend toward destruction of traditional bourgeois democratic rights in the U.S. began to unfold, in the main, at the end of World War II. It is a reflection of the deepening crisis of the capitalist world, and the insoluble contradictions faced by the ruling monopoly circles in the U.S. as a result of the growth of socialism, the national liberation movement of colonial countries and the inner contradictions of capitalist economy.

## IMPERIALIST DILEMMA

U.S. imperialism faces a dilemma. On the one hand it seeks to drastically curb the rights of the people -- workers, Negroes, intellectuals -- in order to increase its rate of economic exploitation and stifle opposition to its pro-war policies. On the other hand, it tries to utilize the prestige of American democratic traditions as major ideological weapons in its struggle for world domination. This dilemma has led to splits in the ruling class and inner conflicts within the state apparatus.

Moreover, the special historic features of American constitutional government and democratic tradition have helped determine the forms and tactics of domestic reaction. The U.S. bourgeois state, now the instrument of the monopoly oligarchy, despite its surface democratic forms, has proved to be an effective instrument for suppression of popular opposition movements. Its "two party system" has served to thwart the will of the people and block the development of a genuine anti-monopoly coalition in the Northern states; its open fascist-like dictatorship in the deep South further buttresses the power of monopoly and its allies.

## "CREEPING FASCISM"

American reaction has in the main followed a course of gradualism in sharpening its instruments of repression and attempting to gut the elements of popular democracy embodied in the Bill of Rights. While avoiding the appearance of a sharp break with the traditional methods of rule, it has gone a long way in altering the form of government. The new repressive apparatus includes a vastly expanded political police and espionage force, the SACB, the investment of new dictatorial powers in the Department of Labor, the Congressional standing committees with permanent staffs, and other agencies linked to the huge military bureaucracy. These are closely meshed with unofficial adjuncts of state power -- control of press, radio and TV, employer black-lists, "Americanization" committees of veterans organizations and the like.

American reaction has tried to masquerade as the defender of our Constitutional "way of life" and our "national security". Using "legality" to cover its violence to the Bill of Rights, it has forged a formidable arsenal of laws--the Smith Act, McCarran Act and Communist Control Act, McCarran-Walter Law, the Taft-Hartley Law and the new labor control law.

Over the last six or seven years, the one partial (and temporary) governmental barrier to this "creeping fascism" has been the U.S. Supreme Court. Even this limited resistance by the Court, which always avoided direct assertion of First Amendment principles, led to a major threat to alter the Constitution and limit the

traditionally defined role of the Court. Under this pressure, censored in Congress, the court majority retreated from its earlier libertarian stand.

## THREAT TO FIRST AMENDMENT

The current struggle to preserve the First Amendment, which embodies the basic principles of the Bill of Rights, hinges on the defense of the rights of Communists. On this issue, reaction came close to victory in the era of McCarthyism, and once again threatens to break at this point the dam of Constitutional protections for all trends of dissenting opinion.

Civil libertarians must meet the challenge on this ground, or suffer serious and possibly fatal defeat in their effort to preserve the First Amendment. The bulk of the Common people, never wholeheartedly favorable to the tide of reaction, are showing growing understanding as the anti-union offensive tends to merge the economic struggles with defense of the Bill of Rights.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the AFL-CIO and other basic mass organizations of the people have eagerly adopted and still cling to the big lies of the "Communist menace", and have so far prevented the emergence of an effective pro-Bill-of-Rights coalition. This weakness, in turn, is reflected in Congress, which lacks even a minority bloc--especially in the House--which stands squarely in defense of the First Amendment.

## THREAT OF FASCISM?

With two basic tests--the membership provision of the Smith Act and the McCarran Act--now pending before the Supreme Court, and a flood of new repressive laws awaiting final action in Congress, the basic principles of the First Amendment are facing a crisis. The ultimate danger of a qualitative change in the substance of the state apparatus (i.e. fascism) cannot be minimized, even though the preparatory process is far from completed.

The Communist Party and those whom it influences can play a decisive role in helping to build a national resistance movement. They alone can fully expose the big lie of the "Communist Menace", the nature of reaction and the fascist threat. Through support to and initiation of united front movements, they can help concentrate the democratic forces upon the defense of the basic principles of the First Amendment. Today, the potentials for a powerful coalition in defense of the Bill of Rights are greater than they have been at any time since the cold war began in earnest. Given effective leadership, the people can preserve and extend their freedoms.

## CHANGE NEEDED

It must be said self-critically that there has been a serious underestimation of the extent of the erosion of the Bill of Rights. The lack of this basic estimate has fed ideological uncertainty and disunity. It has fostered complacency, on the one hand, and narrow, one-sided approaches to alliances, without perspectives of continuing growth and development, on the other. The defense of democratic rights has not been a main element in the mass work of the Party in many major areas of its work. It must now become one of the central tasks of the Communist Party as set forth in policies of the XVIIth Convention.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-B—Continued

Page 4

## A PRESS DIRECTOR SAYS -

There are those of us - probably a minority - who find The Worker "dull" - its makeup, its heaviness and wordiness.

One of our subscribers - an avid reader, complains: "I have to drive myself to read that paper." Another, whom we know reads a number of "left" publications, when asked at renewal time his opinion of the paper - with a light laugh, said: "I don't read it except for the occasional article."

We suggest:

The People's World as a model for layout and form. The Worker needs a "light touch." This is not to say we want it to be less serious or that there be only short articles and stories. We want it to continue to be a thinking man's paper.

Our paper needs a relief from its "solid look." Cartoons, drawings, pictures tell very significant stories, too. The "visual story" should

attract new, young readers - and older ones.

A word to some of the writers - let the chips fall where they may! We say this with some hesitation, because we're aware of the demands and pressures on a limited staff for the job that has to be done. BUT - and we quote another reader: "If things are always said in the same words, after awhile what you read loses meaning. I stack up The Worker at the end of the week alongside my "broom and dust pan" - it's one of my chores" -

We can't believe that our writers no longer know how to "turn over a phrase." We need a little freshness and a variation in styles, please.

We appreciate the articles that show a closeness to the thinking of the people, but often they lack that link with expertness - the combination that results in deepening an article with facts and figures, images and astute observations from good research material and thinkers.

## ON YOUTH WORK

By G.C.

One of the questions that particularly interested me in the Draft Resolution for the 17th Convention, was the reference to the need for a Marxist orientated youth organization.

Because our party has been reduced in size due to our internal struggle and we are facing mounting problems, it is essential to select carefully those cardinal fields of work meriting particular emphasis and concentration.

One such cardinal field, in my opinion, is the youth. Everywhere, in unions, among the unemployed, in community work, and in the nationalistic groups, we must find the youth. We must concentrate on the problems of working youth and student youth between the ages of 16 and 35.

One of the burning problems of our party today is to help and encourage the youth without stifling their initiative and enthusiasm, to integrate the developing youth movement with the general forward movement of the working class and to help prepare reliable trained leaders (cadres) for the youth movement and for the future of our party. The correct development of the youth will grow chiefly from their own experience and their own study and effort. However, as we have learned from the past, this is not enough. A Marxist orientated youth organization also needs the benefit of the experiences of the older generation; it needs the help and guidance of our party.

Fortunately, in spite of many adverse and discouraging circumstances, young people repeatedly come forward showing interest in Socialism and a strong desire for the creation of a Marxist orientated youth organization which serves as a nerve center for broader and wider youth activities.

As one of the elementary steps, study-action groups should be formed wherever the initiative of the youth presents itself or whenever the adult sponsorship is available. These youth groups will form the beginning of a communist core for a national organization of a Marxist

orientated youth - an organization which stimulates and helps cement a broad movement of youth in the U. S. A. for the consuming needs of youth itself as well as for peace in the world and Socialism here.

It seems to me a mistake to project the idea of having an all inclusive socialist youth organization at this time. To my mind, an all - inclusive youth movement becomes possible at a much higher and mature stage of development, at that time when the vast majority of class - conscious youth becomes convinced of the correctness of Marxism - Leninism, or at least has developed enough confidence in the Marxist-Leninist movement to accept it as the basis of the united socialist youth organization.

We are certainly far from such a stage today. The attempt to lump the diverse youth trends of today into a single organization, while a good many of these trends are deeply biased against the Socialist camp, and merely parade under the name of socialism, would simply doom any attempt to create a Marxist orientated youth movement.

One recent event makes this particularly obvious. I am referring to the Vienna Youth Festival. It is also evident that certain influences among the youth attempted, with the aid of the State Department, to carry out, at the festival, a major provocation that would embarrass and disrupt it.

What was lacking, was the clarity and guidance that could only have come from the kind of a Marxist-orientated youth organization that I am talking about. With such a force in existence, the vast interest around the Youth Festival could have found expression in a much larger and broader contingent of American Youth, American Youth, who were genuinely interested building peace and friendship on the one hand, and fully alert to the machinations of those who sought to convert the Festival into an arena of struggle between the "WEST" and the

(continued p. 5)

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-B—Continued

**ON THE UNITED FRONT**

by two members of the Wagenknecht Section

The most important question of the current period is tactics and the development of a united front to defeat the onslaught of big business against the labor movement, the movement for Negro rights and against civil rights generally.

In developing a discussion around the united front, the National Committee resolution leaves many generalities and unclear concepts, in light of specific present-day conditions.

Certainly Communists are willing to participate, and in fact have participated, in union of action on specific issues such as peace, support of the steel strike, the struggle for the rights of the Negro people, etc. Individual Communists have on occasion done splendid work under difficult conditions to raise the understanding of their fellow trade unionists and shop workers on many of the issues that have been mentioned, which confront the people today.

What is needed is to spell out in concrete terms the perspectives of the united front and the means of advancing its development. Experience shows that the united front takes various forms under various conditions. At times there are possibilities of the united front from the top—which is to say, the alliance of top leadership of labor organizations with other movements. At other times united front movements develop chiefly from below. At times both forms of activity are possible at the same time. Whenever the united front at the top serves the interest of the working class, Communists favor such a unity and put aside long term and fundamental differences for the purpose of a united front aimed toward a specific objective. While the united front on top is possible at certain times and under specific objective conditions, the united front from below is valid at all times.

At the present period, Communist initiated education in the ranks of the working class is essential, and in the course of a developing class struggle this educational process assumes special importance.

**ON YOUTH WORK** Page 5

(continued from page 4)

"EAST" - into a cold war battlefield in the field of ideology.

There are many lessons that we need to study and draw from this extensive experience that has emerged around the Vienna Youth Festival - and I hope that the Party will go deeply into these lessons to correct the distortions that have come from the hostile press.

And so it is clear that such a movement is imperative and indispensable and must be organized along such lines as will insure a Marxist orientation and training. With this kind of training and experience youth will be prepared to take places of leadership in the unions, in the community, and in the peace movement.

G. C.

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**NOTES FROM THE EDITORS**

This is the first of two scheduled pre-Convention discussion bulletins. It is published by the pre-Convention publications committee, a sub-committee of the Illinois State Committee.

All contributions in this issue were submitted by individuals. None, of course, represent official positions of the organization, until or unless they have been approved by collective decision.

The deadline for the second issue of the discussion bulletin is Sunday, November 1. Contributions may be given to members of the publications committee or turned in through organizational channels or the State office at 36 W. Randolph St. They may be the work of individuals or the collective work of clubs or sections. Maximum length is 750 words.

Contributions to the national pre-convention bulletin "Party Affairs" or to "Political Affairs" may be turned in through the above channels.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-C

Illinois State Convention-November, 1959.DraftResolution on the Party Organization

Based on discussions in the State Board, State Org. Commission and in a special Org. Conference to discuss this draft.
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I- Between the 16th and 17th Conventions

The 17th Convention will mark a new stage in the fight for the unity and cohesion of the Party rallied around its mass line: policies for the unity of labor, the Negro people, farmers and other democratic forces for peace, democracy and security, --the unity of all the people against topmost monopoly in general, and, immediately, against the munitions-missiles monopolists in particular.

In this fight, the February, 1958 National Committee meeting marked an important turning point. It brought an end to the period of paralysis which had beset the Party. This paralysis, which was particularly acute in the six months prior to the February meeting, was the result of the temporary dominance of revisionist influences in the operative leadership of the National Committee.

While the Gates-revisionist influences left their mark on the 16th convention, the majority of that convention held the Party to a generally correct Marxist-Leninist main direction.

Similarly, the majority asserted itself at the February, 1958 NC meeting and dealt a decisive blow to revisionism, creating political conditions which forced Gates & Co. out of the Party.

From that time forward, the National leadership has continued to strengthen principled unity on the basis of the mass line.

In this struggle for the Party, for its unity against the monopolist enemy and for mass work among the people, the Illinois Party played a positive and important role.

Despite severe limitations, serious losses and some defections, the Illinois Party helped stimulate certain go-forward tendencies which helped overcome paralysis. It consistently pursued a policy of combining united front mass work with timely projection of Party and Left initiatives. In the main, it waged a principled struggle against factionalism and its methods from any and all quarters. While ridding the Party of a virulent ultra-left factional grouping, it has fought for a correct line on the basis of open airing of differences and helping many comrades who tended in one or another direction to get their bearings again within the Party.

Since February, 1958, two successful Worker drives were completed; the Party played a role in the state FEP fight, especially in 1958; in the unemployed marches on Springfield and Washington; in the two Youth marches for integrated schools; in the Youth Festival and other cultural exchange activities; in the struggle for Oil Green, Henry Winston and Bob Thompson and in the fight for democratic rights generally; in the resurgence of Left activity in the Negro community, witnessed in the Dubois and Robeson affairs, the sale of the Robeson book, the rise of in-

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-C—Continued

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dependent voter activity, in the struggles on housing, against police brutality, etc.; in a number of united front activities in the Jewish and Slav communities; in a number of peace meetings and activities; in a number of economic, strike struggles; in the promotion of independent political activity in and out of the 2-party arena.

A number of sections have further developed their capacity for united front activity in the fight for equal rights, on housing, in the fight for peace and on electoral activities, and on the economic front, notably in Hyde Park, West Side, 9th CD, to a lesser extent in Loop and 12th CD, and in industrial work.

At the same time, the Party advanced its independent position in numerous ways, including testimony at public hearings; open letters and statements to the press; distribution of 27 leaflets and folders; distribution and sale of The Worker and special fliers; and in public meetings, the high point of which was the 10th anniversary meeting with 500 people in attendance. Increasingly, the Party has expanded its advocacy of Socialism and faces the need to do so even more in the future.

In this period, the Party has checked the decline, has begun to consolidate and strengthen its positions. In addition to stable, functioning press, editorial, educational committees, a Negro commission and a Jewish commission have been re-established; and peace, youth and organization committees have been set up, as well as special committees in relation to certain mass organizations and political action.

Community liaison committees to coordinate the work of industrial, community and professional forces, especially in political action, have been set up, in some areas.

A beginning has been made in bringing forward newer forces. And recruiting has begun in some areas.

These positive accomplishments are significant in that they attest to the vitality of the organization, giving the lie to the revisionist fantasy that the Party is obsolete and incapable of leading; and proving the capacity, energy and will of the Party to not just live and fight for its existence, but to fulfill its guiding role in relation to the mass struggles of the people and its capacity to overcome sectarianism.

In recounting these accomplishments, it is necessary to recognize serious weaknesses, such as:

- a. uneven participation in these mass activities from section to section, club to club, member to member;
- b. insufficient collectivity at all levels in planning mass activity, in the course of its execution, and in subsequent evaluation and exchange of experiences;
- c. failure to rally the Party as a whole to react in time and with sufficient strength to a number of important situations effecting the interests of the working class, Negro people and their allies;
- d. failure to give necessary attention to a number of important areas, such as serious neglect of nationality group work; as well as a number of major local issues, such as a city-wide approach to housing;
- e. insufficient attention to ideological work in the Party and to cadre development;
- f. insufficient attention to problems of mass education, especially with respect to develop of class, political and socialist consciousness, etc.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-C—Continued

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It is necessary to recall all the Party has accomplished since the 16th convention, and especially since the Feb. '58, NC meeting, not to become smug and self-satisfied, but to have a sober estimate of our strength, to overcome tendencies to minimizing the role of the Party which sapped its self-confidence, so that we can go to work on our many weaknesses with confidence in our ability to overcome them.

One of the chief lessons of this period is that among the comrades who have helped the Party most in overcoming the ravages of revisionism are those who contributed most to the effort to carry out the line of the Party among the people. By actively seeking to bring the Party's policies into the arena of mass work, they are helping to rebuild the confidence of the Party in its capacity to do mass work. These comrades are the strongest pillars of support the Party has, and their constructive attitude marks a growing majority whose numbers will grow to encompass the whole Party.

The few who start from the premise of lack of confidence in the Party and its mass policies are dwindling in numbers and increasingly find themselves isolated from the go-forward spirit developing in the Party. They become increasingly unhappy with the Party, its leaders and members, and with themselves. While some of them may be lost to the Party, the best among them will abandon their negative, fault-finding or factionalist attitudes and resume honored places in the ranks of our forward-marching Communist Party.

With the revisionists out of its ranks, the Party comes to the 17th Convention prepared to take the next steps towards again becoming a decisive force in our land.

Another lesson of this period is that the struggle against revisionism does not mean that the Party blinds itself to the continuing, deeply-rooted dogmatism and left-sectarianism which has plagued it for so long. Nor does it mean that revisionism and dogmatism are enemies to each other, or that dogmatism is an ally of the Party in the struggle against revisionism.

To the contrary, both are but two sides of the same opportunist coin, having their common source in bourgeois ideology. They feed each other and are inimical to Marxism-Leninism and its dialectical method.

In this period, the grave danger of factionalism has been brought sharply into focus. Factionalism places loyalty to the faction and its leader above loyalty to the Party and its leadership. It is the attitude of exploiting the Party's weaknesses to further factional aims. In all circumstances, factionalism diverts the Party from improving and carrying out its mass policies. It is the most extreme form of isolation from the real problems of the people. It is destructive of the political and organizational principles of the vanguard party. It is a responsibility and duty of the Party as a whole, and of the leadership first of all, to eradicate every last vestige of factionalism from the Party. This must be done on the basis of ideological persuasion and conviction in the first place; but where the Party is confronted with incorrigible, unconstructable factionalists, it must employ the disciplinary powers provided by the Party's Constitution.

The pre-convention discussion to date shows that the Party in its overwhelming majority is uniting around the main line of the general political resolution and the NC's Open Letter of Nov. 1st. The main resolution, which will undoubtedly be further improved and strengthened by the national convention as a result of the party-wide discussion and the Open Letter, is a sound document around which the Party can be rallied and united.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-C—Continued

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The task of carrying it into life will become the basis of Party activity following the convention. The struggle to gear the Party to carry out the line of the 17th convention will, in good measure, be a sustained effort to overcome its weaknesses and shortcomings, to resolve a number of contradictions arising out of long-unresolved problems.

## II- Problems of Gearing the Party to its Mass Policies.

The remodeling of our forms and methods must be approached in the light of the estimate of the new period unfolding. The possibility of a prolonged thaw in the Cold War, of winning the fight for peaceful co-existence between the USA and the USSR as the pre-condition of world peace, opens up a number of domestic consequences.

Foremost among these is the prospect of a freer expression of class forces, relations and interests. The likelihood is that mass struggles will grow as the conflict over the future economic and political course of our country sharpens.

Under these conditions, the line of our Party for a convergence, or a front, or democratic forces against monopoly reaction will stand forth with greater impact and validity than in conditions of Cold War relationships which obscure class interests and forces in a cloud of "national unity".

Already a new fluidity characterizes the national and state scenes as individuals and groups begin to shift positions to meet changing conditions.

In these conditions the Party must be ready to react more quickly and with greater boldness to events, both in the application of the united front and in timely promotion of Party and Left initiatives.

To do so it is necessary to overcome certain practices, concepts and methods which developed in the McCarthy period. It is also necessary to correct extreme overcorrection of mistakes of that period. The continuation of incorrect concepts and practices into a new period seriously impairs the fight to overcome our biggest unsolved problem: the mastery of the united front policy.

The united front policy is almost 25 years old. Yet there is much unclarity, confusion and lack of understanding of this fundamental policy of our Party for the realization of its mass line.

It is a harmful oversimplification to regard our past as simply a succession of wrong mass policies. Along with a number of well-known and serious mistakes in mass policies, there are numerous examples of correct mass policies directed to the urgent, over-riding needs of the American people. The failure, many times, to carry out a correct mass line was mainly due to our failure to master the United Front as the basic style and method of our mass work.

It is necessary to re-arm the Party with the theory and practice of the United Front, to place the task of the re-education of the Party on this basis as the foremost ideological task before us, along the lines suggested in the state main political resolution.

Our chief weapon in solving these problems is educational work. It is necessary to raise the importance of ideological work in the party; for all leading comrades to engage in this effort; and to develop it on the basis of combining principles with the solution of the real, practical problems before us.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-C—Continued

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Among the other problems which bear on the Party's capacity to carry out the united front policy and which need urgent attention are:

.....the remnants of distorted concepts of security which arose in the McCarthy period and which hamper the Party's mass work in a number of ways. Security must be taken out of the realm of individual determination and placed as a collective problem in each Party organization. It must be approached first of all from the viewpoint of safeguarding the Party's capacity to do mass work, to increase the mass influence of the Party's policies, to advance united front policy. Real problems of security must be separated out of the mass of confusion and distortion which now surrounds this question and solved on the basis of a worked-out Party approach. For this it is necessary to formulate a clear-cut general Party position on security based on combining principle with practical needs, for discussion and concrete application locally and in individual cases.

.....the revulsion to the over-centralization of the McCarthyite period and to the bureaucratic practices that came with it has produced a variety of each-go-his-own-way tendencies, undermining the norms of Party discipline, collectivity and democratic centralism. There was a tendency to throw the baby of democratic centralism out with the bathwater of bureaucratic practices. Our past experiences prove that the only sound basis for party functioning is democratic centralism. The party needs the unity of both democracy and centralism.

Organizational measures or constitutional clauses, in and of themselves, do not assure perfection in the use of democratic centralism, nor are they sufficient safeguards against its abuse. These require a constantly rising political-theoretical level and conscious effort to live by and improve the operation of democratic centralism. Key to its mastery is the operation of collectivity in policy making on all levels and definite responsibility for execution, and check-up. It is necessary to both study the principles of democratic centralism and to learn the art of its practice on the basis of solving day-to-day problems.

.....primary toward redeveloping a sense of discipline and responsibility is the development of ideological-educational work. Our discipline must be based on conviction. The decision of the Southwest section for monthly membership meetings of a political-ideological nature directed toward clarifying our direction and tasks is commended to all sections that are in position to do so. Such membership meetings can go far toward answering the growing demand for explanations of the thinking that goes into policy making, the "whys and wherefores" of Party decisions. The rise of such a demand testifies to the growing desire to make breakthroughs towards effective mass work. To meet this need, it is necessary to expand and improve the all-around political-educational work of the Party.

.....Accompanying the demand for the whys of our mass policies is a growing desire to master the know-how of Communist mass work. The limitations imposed on us by the times prevents putting into print many rich, valuable mass experiences. This has led to an abandonment of the time-tested practice of evaluating struggles and activities, exchanging experiences, generalizing their lessons and learning from them. As a consequence, the ability to correctly employ our tools of criticism and self-criticism is seriously hampered and often results in these instruments being turned into hari-kari weapons, instead of being directed primarily towards aiding the Party fulfill its guiding role among the masses.

It is necessary to institute more or less frequent city and/or section wide meetings to evaluate experiences, to restore this practice in the clubs, sections and commissions, bringing our theory and mass line to bear as a guide to evaluation and the drawing of lessons; thereby opening up a vital, dynamic method for

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-C—Continued

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developing know-how, excersing criticism and self-criticism,raising the general theoretical-ideological level, and developing greater Party consciousness & spirit.

.....Equally import-nt is it to convene city- and section- wide conferences to work out common, unified approaches and policies on a number of urgent issues facing the people, such as housing, integration, the school situation, areas of severe unemployment and want, health, etc.

.....It is necessary to overcome inadequacies of the nature of mass work for Communists, as well as the faulty concept of Party work as so-called "inner work". Too often these two sides of the Party's vanguard role are pitted against each other as antagonisms. In reality, they are two parts of a harmonious,unified whole.

There can be no effective Party work which is not directed, in one way or another, to the solution of mass problems; there can be no effective work in mass organizations which is not directed,in one way or another, to winning non-Party people to support the mass policies of the Party and to strengthen the Party's influence among the people.

These two sides of the Party's work are indispensable to a correct united front policy; to a correct fulfillment of the mass line. They complement,support each other. The absence of one or the other leads to opportunist errors of a right or left variety. All concepts and tendencies which turn these two vital aspects of the Party's role and work into hostility against each other must be combatted as objectively playing into the hands of those who would destroy the Party.

.....It is necessary to develop a deeper understanding of the role of Party organizational forms and methods in relation to its mass policies.

As a vital, living organism with a developing political line which attunes to changed conditions, the Party must, from time to time, re-examine its forms of organization and methods of work, seeking to ever more bring them into harmony with its mass tasks. Failure to do so when conditions require it results in a conflict, a contradiction between new tasks and policies, and obsolete methods and instruments of organization. This often nullifies or hampers our ability to most effectively execute mass policies in good time.

The insistence which has arisen to overcome the gap between industrial and community work, the acceptance of the community liaison committees to coordinate in the political action field, are recognition of the need for some changes to further improve our forms and methods to correspond to the chief mass tasks.

The Community Liaison Committees are proving to be but a partial solution, and in turn pose such new problems ( their place in the Party structute, the number of additional Party meetings they impose,etc.) as to call for deeper probing and more basic answers.

In this respect, one of the aspects of our work which makes it more difficult to arrive at solutions is a certain over-departmentalization and seperation of industrial and community work. Among otger things, this has seriously weakened the concentration policy, often limiting the community's role in concentration to the distribution of materials at plant gates and union meetings. A key to restoring concentration as a policy for the whole party is the proper overcoming of this over-departmentalization and seperation. We cannot continue to abide a situation in which the Party as a whole is not aware of and lives apart from the major problems of auto,steel,transport and other workers and of the labor movement as a whole.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-C—Continued

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Toward this end, and to facilitate the solution of the other problems pointed up herein, a district conference on problems of gearing the Party to the fulfillment of its mass tasks should be planned for the first half of 1960. Since these problems exist nationally as well as in Illinois, and since the solution of some of them require formulation of national policy, it is essential, in our view, that a national conference also be organized.

.....From all the foregoing, there also emerges the needs for an examination of the Party's cadre policy and the formulation of cadre objectives and training. We are today paying dearly for the temporary inability to staff certain leadership functions of the Party. The majority of these functions are essential to a proper functioning of the party, to properly serve the multiplicity of ideological, political, tactical and other aids needed by the sections, clubs, members. It is not necessary to postpone into the indefinite future the solution of the main aspects of this problem, because the people exist in the Party to help solve it. But for this, it will be necessary to move at least along three lines of development:

a. It is necessary to face the fact that in Illinois today we are overorganized at the bottom and underorganized at the top. There are far too many clubs for the size of the organization. In whole areas, club forms continue to exist just as if 10 years ago without regard to reduction in number of members for various causes, or changes in employment and in club compositions. A certain amount of consolidation is required, and in some instances urgently needed if contact with some members is not to be lost and if club life is to be improved. This would result in the release of some comrades to mass work, others to staffing various leadership functions. This must be done not as a result of a city-wide scheme, but on the basis of the actual situation in sections and divisions.

b. It is necessary that a systematic, planned program for the training and development of selected newer and younger comrades be adopted to refresh and replenish the leadership corps and assure its continuity into the future. The cadre-training plan approved by the Organization Committee should be presented to the 2nd session of the state convention as part of the P.L.M. of Work for 1960.

c. It is also necessary that a plan be drawn up for the retraining and refreshment of the Party's older cadre, based, among other things, on restoring the time-tested fundamental principles, their re-examination in the light of new developments and experience, and the establishment of a common, unifying estimate of all basic principles to bring a renewed cohesion and like-mindedness among the cadre as a whole on all the big questions of our movement.

The strengthening of our Party urgently requires a more conscious and scientific approach to recruiting. This would also contribute to the solution of cadre problems. This necessitates, among other things:

a. Restoration of the practice of working on lists of contacts in clubs and sections, drawn from the best, most promising people in unions, shops, communities and mass orgs., and systematic, step-by-step educational work with them both individually and in groups to bring them ever closer and into the Party.

b. a policy of differentiation to all who left the Party. This means a comradely, open-handed approach to all former members who still believe in the lofty goals of Marxism-Leninism, who left our ranks because they do not understand and were otherwise repelled by the inner-struggle or because of tactical and secondary differences. It means reestablishing contact with them, systematic ideological and personal work with them and the

HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-C—Continued

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engineering of an atmosphere welcoming them back to the Party.

- c. Better and more wide-spread utilization of our mass pamphlets and books dealing with the urgent problems of the day and the popularization of the principles and accomplishments of Socialism, the opportunities for which are growing from day to day as growing hundreds of thousands search for the cause of the breath-taking achievements of Soviet labor, science and culture.

\* \* \* \* \*

On the basis of the resumption of the Party's mass work, both in the united front and in its independent capacity as the Party of scientific socialism, which has already begun, the second session of the state convention must address itself to more concrete measures for overcoming our shortcomings and weaknesses and should adopt a Plan of Work for 1960 aimed at substantial improvement and expansion of the multiform mass work and activities of the Party.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-D

CHANGES IN ILLINOIS DRAFT ON PARTY ORGANIZATION

The Pre-Convention Resolutions Committee submits the Illinois Draft on Party organization with the following changes. Deletions are for ~~brevity~~ brevity and to eliminate repetition. Changes and additions are ~~for~~ more accuracy, rounding-out, clarifying and to include additional proposals of merit from sections:

- Page 1: the box: change to read: "Based on a discussion on this document ~~as the~~ a whole in a special org. conference and discussion on the subject matter of parts of it in the State Board and the State Org. Commission".
- Page 1: add to end of 2nd paragraph: ",plus the continued influence of deep-going dogmatic-sectarian concepts and the bitter-inner struggle between these two extremes."
- Page 1: add to 3rd paragraph: "Significantly, an ultra-leftist grouping also left the Party shortly thereafter."
- Page 3: delete 2nd and 3rd paragraphs beginning with "One of the chief.." and ending with "forward marching Communist Party".  
delete words "With the revisionists out of its ranks" in next paragraph.  
add to end of 6th paragraph: "(See State Political Resolution)".
- Page 4: 6th paragraph under Section II: add to second sentence: "as spelled out below", to now read: "It is also necessary to correct extreme over-correction of mistakes of that period as spelled out below".  
8th paragraph: delete words "many times," in sentence beginning with "The failure...".
- Page 5: top, paragraph beginning "...the remnants": Take second sentence beginning with "Security must..." and move down to just before last sentence in paragraph.  
In paragraph beginning "primary toward redeveloping..." delete next to the last sentence.
- Page 6: 4th paragraph, beginning with "these two sides..." ~~delete~~ these words: "to a correct fulfillment of the mass line. They complement, support each other."  
Add this paragraph to bottom of page: "Coordination between community and industrial party organizations to advance industrial concentration, to help develop labor consciousness of community clubs, to advance community political action, to exchange experiences on plant distributions, Worker sales, etc., to exchange ideas on personnel distribution is needed" (from West Side section convention resolution).
- Page 7: Last paragraph, add this sentence following first sentence beginning with "The strengthening...": "A serious approach to recruiting requires recognition of the existence of difficulties and obstacles, such as problems arising out of the repressive legislation and attacks."
- Page 8: incorporate into point c. this sentence: "Issuance of mass educational material on basic things in American life: crime and corruption, taxes, living costs, youth problems, health". (West Side Section Resolution).
- Page 8: delete from last paragraph: "On the basis of the resumption of the Party's mass work, both in the united front and in its independent capacity as the Party of scientific socialism, which has already begun-".

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-E

(The Illinois State Committee presents this draft, the main line of which was approved - 21 for; 1 against; 1 abstention - for club and section discussion and action)

DRAFTILLINOIS POLITICAL RESOLUTIONI - INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party of Illinois, in convention assembled, endorses the line of direction of the Draft Resolution for the 17th National Convention, CPUSA.

Based itself on the analysis of a new world relationship of forces and the developments in the United States, the resolution projects the possibility of the new decade of the 60s opening up an era of lasting peace; expanding democracy; attainment of full citizenship of the Negro people; and reaching a higher degree of economic well-being. The possibility of ending the cold war, and of creating a more favorable climate to advance democracy and security were underscored by the exchange of views between the heads of government of the USA and the USSR at Camp David and the response to Chairman Khrushchev's tour in the United States.

Placing peace as the primary issue of our time, noting the growing instability of the economy, the resolution warns of the growing offensive of top-monopoly reaction aimed at prolonging the cold war, "stabilizing" the economy at the expense of the people, and attempting to prevent fulfillment of the great promise of the 60s.

The variety of opinions expressed in various official and semi-official reactions to Premier Khrushchev's visit reflect growing, sharpening differences in top ruling circles over the course of foreign policy. The outcome of this struggle will be largely influenced by the development of united labor and peoples movements on the urgent issues of the day and could lead to far-reaching realignment of forces nationally, decisive to a positive outcome of the struggles in the immediate years ahead.

Hence, the national resolution projects a policy of helping to build and strengthen the inner-unity of labor, the Negro people, other democratic sectors; the alliance of all these popular forces through united action on the day-to-day issues for which they are prepared to move; to help sustain and elevate these movements on local and/or partial issues into a grand anti-monopoly convergence for the overall objectives of peace, democracy and security, to win the goals of the 1960s.

The resolution stresses the new importance in modern times of political and legislative activity to reinforce and win economic and social struggles and objectives; it projects a sound policy for the 1960 elections of maximum mass, united pressure to influence the outcome within the two-party arena in favor of positive steps for peace and domestic welfare. It calls for wide activity to ensure the nomination of pro-peace, pro-labor, pro-integration candidates, and the defeat of the Dixiecrat-GOP Reactionary Alliance and the virulent cold war promoters in both parties.

It underscores the importance of the working class emerging as an independent political force with a labor political program for the nation and strong working class political action organizations; as well as the need for building the political activity and organizations of the Negro people, farmers, liberals, both in and out of the old parties. It places the fulfillment of this task as essential not only to win immediate 1960 objectives, but as indispensable to bring about a far-reaching political realignment out of which may arise a new party of labor, Negro people and farmers.

Objective factors are maturing for the realization of these goals. But without the leading role of the working class and the enhanced guiding role of the Communist Party, there is no assurance that they will be secured. The key to the Party's ability to help unfold and attain these mass goals is in the mastery of the united front policy and the consolidation and strengthening of the Party.

II - THE SITUATION IN ILLINOIS

## A)

Chicago, a prime producer of the nation's wealth, has become a focal point of growing contradictions.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-E—Continued

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midwest

There is increasing awareness that the vast material values produced in the heartland can and should be translated into rebuilding outworn cities, erecting new homes, public and private housing for low-income groups, schools, hospitals, and into a general rise in the people's well-being.

But the Chicago area has in fact become a major casualty of the Cold War. Few large cities compare to Chicago in the extent of slums and sub-standard housing. Its housing is the most segregated of any big city in the country. No state outside the South gives as little as Illinois to support public education. Chicago, alone among the big cities, has no district health centers. These few examples show how the needs of the people of Illinois are sacrificed to the all-consuming demands of the Cold War economy from which the munitions monopolists derive tremendous profits.

Corn surpluses mount ever higher and Illinois farm indebtedness grows apace. Illinois cost of living and tax load are among the highest in the nation.

The working class of Chicago, which has contributed so much to the militant history of American labor, faces new and very serious problems today. The stockyards, where until a few years ago, 20,000 packinghouse workers worked, now, as a result of automation and plant removals, has approximately 5,000 men and women on the job.

Other big plants, such as the historic McCormick Harvester plant, Crane Company and many others are in the process of becoming "skelton" plants. These developments are merely symptomatic of the process of cutting down the work force in those plants that has become typical throughout the city. Automation, speedup and runaway plants are erecting great hardships on the workers.

Working conditions, which have been won as a result of bitter struggles by the workers in this area, are being threatened. Big business is trying to turn the clock back. But the conditions won as a result of struggle - where the Haymarket demonstration took place for the eight hour day, and where the steelworkers paid with their lives in the murderous onslaught in the infamous Memorial Day Massacre - are very precious to the men and women who work in the factories and mills. With almost one voice they are refusing to bow to the trusts' demands that past gains be given up. This is true in the steel strike, the packing strike, and is a foremost question in the dispute of the workers with the railroads.

To meet the continued outbacks in jobs, the demand for the shorter work week has become more universally popular. Workers are fighting back by work stoppages, demands for increased independent political action and voicing their desire for greater unity in the ranks of labor.

Illinois was hard hit in the past year by the growing instability of the economy. In the recent 3rd post war slump, 8% of the work force was jobless, as contrasted to 6% average throughout the nation. As winter approached more than 110,000 Illinois residents were on relief, in the midst of "prosperity", and the relief crisis was deepening daily.

Especially hard hit are the Negroes, as well as Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, among whom joblessness runs from two to four times higher than whites, and from whose ranks come the largest numbers of the permanently unemployed.

Negro workers, as a result of their participation in Chicago's militant struggles and because they formed the strongest and most devoted sector of Illinois labor, have held high seniority in the packing, steel and farm implement industries. This has been especially true in packing. One of the great gains of the past has been the unity of Negro and white in Chicago's mass production industries.

As a result of the ravages of automation many of the Negro workers find themselves jobless. The precious heritage of Negro-white unity is being threatened. The responsibility of breaking the barriers in the all too many industries where Jim Crow still prevails in Chicago is a mighty challenge before labor and all progressive forces.

.....

All the foregoing contribute to the growth in crime, the rise in juvenile delinquency, the erosion of moral standards.

Under the impact of these developments, the class struggle sharpens, old relationships begin to unfreeze and new ones to shape up as the search for answers widens.

.....

The opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway, the Cal-Sag development and the expansion of the Port of Chicago are being presented by LaSalle Street-publicists as panaceas that will cure Illinois' ills. But the realization of their potential depends on an expansion of foreign trade far beyond the limits imposed by the cold

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-E—Continued

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war foreign policy.

Far more realistic, therefore, are the pronouncements of certain representatives of Chicago mercantile and small industrial capital (Maremont, Rothschild, Kestenbaum, etc.) which call for peaceful co-existence with the USSR and the expansion of East-West trade.

Discernable trends for social betterment, for rebuilding the city, are rising. But they remain, as yet, vague and undefined. To the LaSalle Street bankers, the "city" to be renewed is the Loop financial-mercantile center and immediate environs. What improvements have been made serve the interests of the Loop mainly and only incidentally benefit the vast working class, Negro and middle income communities. And urban "renewal" too often becomes Negro removal.

Loop development, which can be part of an overall program for renewal of Chicago, moves at jet speed, while housing, schools and health facilities in the overall continue to deteriorate, despite small's pace improvement in scattered areas. There is no concrete plan for rebuilding the city in a planned, coordinated way. And organized labor has, as yet, come forward with no program of its own for the city and the state as a whole.

In the absence of a clear-cut, concrete program of labor and liberal forces, the Illinois Manufacturer's Association, C of C, Tribune and allied forces relentlessly press forward their reactionary aims on all fronts, erecting barriers to progress.

B)

The main basis for winning the goals of the immediate future rests in the growing labor and people's movements out of which can arise a realignment of forces, a confluence of democratic forces for peace, security, democracy.

These movements and struggles exist in rich and growing profusion in Illinois. They are the starting point for all who would propel our state and nation forward in the new decade opening before us.

Moods of struggle and militancy are rising in the Illinois working class. They are seen in the rise of strike struggles and stoppages. Harvester, steel, hospitals, auto, etc); in the demonstration of 5,000 teachers in the Loop for pay increases; in labor bringing pressure on the City Council to react to the problem of plant removals; in the unemployed march on Springfield resulting in a special session, and in the big Illinois contingent to the Washington march; in the defeat of state anti-labor legislation; in the militant struggles and organizing activities of the teamsters; in the beginning of an independent political course seen in labor's intervention, at times, in selection of candidates (Stengel) and in some places in breaking with the machine to support a liberal (Depree).

The Negro people's movement is emerging on a new plane of heightened political struggles for gaining freedom goals, for advancing representation and participation on policy-making levels in both old parties and in government. This it is doing through independent, non-partisan struggles and organizations, as well as within the two-party system.

As a result, a Negro alderman wins a place for the first time on the powerful committee on organization of the City Council; a powerful, united demand is raised within the County GOP for that party to name a Negro for City Clerk; a Negro independent Democrat secures over 58,000 votes in the first city-wide independent primary fight within the Democratic Party (city clerk); under mass pressure initiated by a Negro voters organization, and backed by the Cook County Bar Association, both major parties are forced to slate Negroes for the judiciary elections; the 24th Ward seethes with a movement to name a Negro as committeeman; and potent independent Negro voter movements arise in Chicago, East St. Louis, Rock Island, Peoria and elsewhere.

In the fight for peace, there is the growth of an active SANE MOVEMENT in Chicago and suburbs; the continuing peace walks and activities of the Friends and other religious and pacifist groups; the birth of a Student Peace Union; the widening ~~response and participation in the peace movement~~ influence and role of the Chicago Council on American-Soviet Friendship; the widening response to all forms of friendship exchanges with the USSR and other socialist lands, including important business circles, but lagging in participation of labor. Especially significant is the awareness of many peace forces of the need to win organized labor for peace, seen in conferences involving trade unions on radiation and fallout hazards. However the vast potential for lessening cold war tensions and for jobs, which could result from large-scale East-West trade, is not yet grasped in the labor movement.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-E--Continued

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The growth of struggle for democratic rights is seen in the developing movement for freedom for Gil Green, Henry Winston and Bob Thompson, which in Chicago has won a broad diversity of growing support; in the defeat of the Zeigler-Broyles bills; in the Bishop Sheil blast at the methods of Congressional investigating committees; in partial victories in defense of the foreign born which were led by the Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born; in lifting the restrictions against "left speakers at the U of I; in the increasing inability of ultra-reactionaries to get mileage out of blind anti-communism. The heightened activity of the Chicago Civil Liberties Union, and most especially of the progressive Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights, play an important role in these developments.

The rise of movements for better and integrated housing, schools and health facilities, of commuter movements against curtailment of transportation services, are further evidence of moods of discontent among the people.

Especially significant is the growth and development of youth movements in a variety of forms - youth councils in the field of human relations as a result of the Youth Marches; youth peace actions and organizations, including participation in the World Youth Festival and other cultural exchanges; Negro youth action and organization for job opportunities; and a revival of Marxist-oriented youth activity and embryo organization.

Against this background, the growth of an organized liberal wing in the Illinois Democratic Party is a development of special importance. The organization of scores of clubs, its role in the election of a number of liberals, its cooperation in some areas with labor political action and Negro voter movements, are indicative of the potential of the Democratic Federation of Illinois as a vehicle for progress. However, tendencies to cater to old-line machine elements place severe limitations on its capacity to realize its potential.

All of the foregoing attest to a growing spirit of struggle among the people of Illinois, in much of which there is a resurgent, broadened Left participation.

c)-

Yet, there is a vast gulf between the aspirations of these diversified labor and peoples movements and the ability to attain their stated objectives.

WHY IS THIS SO?

Why the inability of labor and the people to register their maximum strength in the last general assembly which, despite a few victories for the commonweal, produced overall negative results (increasing the people's tax load, failure to pass FEP for the fifth time, failure to set a state minimum wage, failure to secure relief for Chicago's transportation system, etc.)?

Why the failure to achieve the promise of forward advance expected from labor unity? Why, since organic unity, has the traditional militancy of the CIO become subordinated to the dominant, conservative, anti-mass action policies of top party and state AFL officialdom? Why has there been failure to mobilize large scale support to the struggles of the embattled teamsters, to the strikes of steel, hospital and other workers? Why are COPE policies and organization observed mainly in the breach while the Soderstrom-Lee forces remain subservient to the entrenched political machines?

Why the continued gap between the unmistakable desire for peace of the rank-and-file and the support of Dulles cold war foreign policies by top labor officials?

Why the comparative decline in mass struggles in the fight for the equal rights of the Negro people in recent years?

There are many factors accounting for these contradictions. The objective factors: the cold war; the relative prosperity and its resultant temporary illusions; the reactionary offensive of Big Business on all fronts, including the ideological, are major causes. The lack of a program for peace and the acceptance of cold war foreign policy by most unions and conservative-led mass organizations; the anti-mass action policies of a number of people's leaders, first of all labor leaders; and the absence of clearcut, concrete objectives, concerted direction and sufficient unity in the struggles of labor and the people, are other major causes.

IT IS IN THE UNITY IN STRUGGLE OF LABOR AND THE PEOPLE THAT THE KEY WILL BE FOUND FOR RESOLVING THESE CONTRADICTIONS IN FAVOR OF THE PEOPLE.

This, the basic road to the solution of the people's problems in our state is

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-E—Continued

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the same as for the nation as a whole, - the struggle to find the means whereby separate and parallel movements come together into a mighty confluence, into a new alignment, or front, for democracy, peace and security.

But to do this, it is necessary to help bring about a course of political independence by the working class and its decisive organized sectors. It is necessary to help organized labor come forward with an independent program for the city and state; to build its own independent political action organizations on the basis of year-round activity on the issues; to help secure labor's support and encouragement to the strengthening of the organized liberal wing in the Democratic Party (DFI) as well as to stimulate independent developments within the GOP. It is necessary especially to win organized labor to the task of giving substance to the Negro-Labor alliance, through more forthright championship of the liberation demands of the Negro people, and through development of joint activity with the leading organizations of the Negro people, by solidifying the alliance through the unique role of the Negro trade unionists who should be supported and encouraged in joining, participating in and sharing in leadership of the chief organizations of Negro freedom. And it is necessary to revive on a more extended scale labor-farmer unity in Illinois.

III- The 1960 Presidential Elections -

The policies outlined in the national resolution provide a sound approach to Illinois participation in the 1960 elections.

As that resolution states... "...the strong opposition of labor, the Negro people and a growing number of small farmers to the GOP, and their mass dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party's wretched performance in the 86th Congress, has not yet reached the level where a new party alignment or a mass-based independent presidential peace ticket can emerge in 1960."

Efforts to form a new Party in Illinois at this time, in the face of tremendous legal obstacles, and unless decisive sections of labor and the Negro people form such a party (which does not seem likely at this time), can only prove a diversion from the task of rallying the maximum mass pressure to influence the outcome of the Presidential, Senatorial, Gubernatorial, Congressional and local elections in favor of peace and democracy.

The approach to the 1960 elections must be three-fold:

1. to influence the election outcome through maximum labor-peoples pressure on both parties;
2. through this, to advance independent political action and organization, to lay the basis of political realignment leading to a new party of labor, the Negro people, farmers and other anti-monopoly forces;
3. to take note of embryo trends and strivings within the mainstream towards a new Party of labor and the people, developing side by side with a rise of critical moods in relation to the two old parties, and therefore to intensify all forms of popular, mass educational work on the need for a new party and what it will take to bring it about.

The position of Illinois spokesmen of the major parties on the all-important issue of peace and on the other issues sheds revealing light on the nature and direction of the pressures which must be brought to bear for 1960.

Gov. Stratton, adhering to the Eisenhower policies, welcomes moves for peaceful co-existence, urging greater exchange of delegations with the USSR on state and local levels, as well as nationally.

At the same time, he is a notorious foe of federal aid to education and housing, has sabotaged FEP, despite lip service to it, and manipulates a course of r shifting the tax burdens evermore onto the people.

While pressing for deeds for peace, such as the actual organization of representative Illinois delegations, including labor, to the USSR, it is essential to win labor and peoples organizations to a position of unrelenting pressure on the Stratton administration for housing, increased aid to education, tax relief, FEP, and against the anti-labor drive. And it would serve labor's interests to help liberal forces in the GOP find organized expression for pressure on Stratton within the GOP.

On the other hand, Senator Douglas, who has the reputation of being a champion of civil rights and organized labor, is among the strongest supporters of cold war

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-E—Continued

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policies, so much so that the state GOP hierarchy believes he can be beaten in 1960 on the issue of peace alone.

The contradictory position of the liberal and labor Democrats is especially pointed up by the dual character of the Daley machine in Chicago, perhaps the strongest city machine in the country.

The Daley forces retain labor and liberal support on the basis of concessions it makes to the people on local issues. Daley himself has demanded Congressional action to build 6 million homes in 6 years nationally and is known to have advised young graduates to work for an easing of world tensions. At the same time, the Chicago regular Democratic organization is aligned nationally with the Truman-Symington-Johnson forces. These forces are among the bulwark of support for Cold War policies against which the people are turning their backs. They are aligned with the anti-labor, anti-integration, anti-civil rights forces nationally who are leading the attack on labor and the Negro people.

It is therefore necessary to stimulate the maximum pressure for peace, and on the separate issues of peace, on the Douglasses, Mitchells, Lohmans and Daleys, to compel them to turn away from support of the cold war, to begin to edge over toward positions of peace, for an easing of world tension, for banning the A and H bomb, ending tests, and for supporting Summit talks and Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchanges as a means to attain these ends - as Stevenson has begun to do.

For the issue of peace has emerged as all-important in the minds of the people and should the economy maintain its present comparatively high levels through the 1960 elections, no amount of declarations by labor leaders, nor the power of the Daley organization, could prevent the defeat of many Democratic candidates who continue support of the Cold War, nor prevent a victory for many of those Republicans who have taken up the peace issue.

Hence, it is imperative to help bring maximum pressure on liberal candidates to take up the issues of peace. Most important is the building of the lasting factor in the course of the 1960 elections, the sustained movements and organizations of labor and the people on the vital issues which will carry beyond the 1960 elections, which are, in the main, independent of candidates, and which can exert the maximum pressure on candidates continually - before, during and after elections.

Toward this end, such movements as COPE, Negro voter organizations, DFI, IVI, should be won for positions of peace in addition to their own immediate programs. And a new front of struggle for peace, civil rights, social welfare, should be opened up among Republican voters as well.

The experiences of the Negro voter movements of Chicago, Memphis and other places can well serve as an object lesson. Bound to neither political party, these movements work within and without both parties, aimed at bringing the pressure of an entire, unified Negro community to bear on both parties, succeeding in winning concessions, sometimes from one, sometimes from the other, sometimes from both.

A comparable role played by COPE, working with IVI, with DFI in the Democratic Party, and with liberals where they may be found in the Republican Party, can bring even greater results for the peace and well-being of our state and nation.

To facilitate such developments, it is necessary to help build the various political action organizations of labor and the people on a mass basis of year-round activity on the issues; to encourage them to come forward with programs for the city and state; and to help them find common ground for cooperation and joint activities.

It is necessary to help these movements find the ways to vocalize the demands of the people, to give form to peoples pressures, through employment of such means as public opinion polls, organizations of large delegations to candidates and other forms successfully used in the 1958 elections in the 12th CD and other areas.

The policy of bringing maximum pressure on the two-party setup for peace and democracy includes support for independent candidates in primary struggles, and even apart from the two parties, when: a) the electorate has no choice between equally die-hard, reactionary candidates, and b) where such candidates contribute toward building the overall coalition movements for peace, democracy and security in and out of the two-party arena of struggle.

The Communist Party, lending its every support toward these mass labor and peoples objectives, will also contribute by its independent clarification of issues and by helping to illuminate the road to a new party of the people. At the same time, it must find the ways and means whereby a broad fight to restore the ballot rights of the Communist Party can be launched.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-E—Continued

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IV - THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ILLINOIS

The Communist Party has a vital, indispensable role to play in Illinois, as nationally. The role can be fulfilled only on the basis of unrelenting effort to realize the mass policies of the Party as set forth in the 17th Convention resolution.

The chief task before our Party, therefore, is to gear it to the fulfillment of the mass line, to master the policy of the united front, to learn how to project the party's independent role within the frame of advancing its mass policies.

Since the February, 1958 meeting of the National Committee, the Illinois Party organization has achieved a higher degree of consolidation of its positions and has begun to make the difficult ascent upward towards the high-road of mass work.

Overall, there has been a conscious policy, with some degree of success, to advance both the united front among the masses as well as the Party's policies publicly, including timely use of Left initiative on a number of occasions when it materially promoted coalition activity.

There has been a marked improvement in the work of a number of sections. This holds especially for West Side, Hyde Park and 9th, where notable gains have been made in developing more-or-less sustained united front activity (housing, elections, integration) based on the real problems of their respective communities; and where there are good beginnings in properly bringing forward the public role of the Party.

The struggle over whether or not the Party should exist has been decisively resolved in favor of the Party. But a whole series of unsolved problems of how best to build and strengthen the Party remain to be solved - most particularly with respect to realization of its mass policies and mastery of the united front to overcome its isolation.

There is widespread inadequate understanding of the united front policy. It is necessary to clarify a whole number of questions of the theory and practice of the united front, such as -

- ... which are the decisive mass organizations; how to help overcome the real problems and difficulties of work in these organizations; how to give guidance to the work in such organizations; how to restore the practice of evaluating and exchanging experiences of work in mass organizations.
- ... what are the theoretical principles of the united front; why ideological agreement cannot be made the basis for the united front; the role of left initiative and its relation to the united front; the role of the club and the individual member in relation to the united front, etc., etc.

There is inadequate understanding of the need for, and the role of, political and legislative struggles and their relationship to the economic struggle. This expresses itself, among other ways, in a separation of so-called community work and industrial work, despite some improvement; in a narrow trade union approach reflected in the life of club meetings; in certain forms and style of work.

There is a continuing underestimation of the role and nature of organizational work in the Party, reflecting a similar weakness in the labor and Negro peoples movements. In place of the political-organizational work called for by Marx - organizational work based on political education and mobilization of masses and membership, the most democratic kind of organization work which stresses the need to prepare conditions, to rally on the basis of conviction, there have developed over the years forms and habits of purely administrative approach, reflected in an almost

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-E—Continued

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total absence of rich political-ideological, educational work on the club and section level and in relation to the day-to-day work among the masses, reflected in drab, dry, administrative type meetings. If we Communists are to be effective in our efforts to help the labor and people's movements overcome like problems, we must begin with ourselves, in our own party. In so doing, we would be striking a powerful blow at some remaining liquidationist tendencies.

Significantly, these concrete ideological problems find their reflection in both "left" and right forms, confirming again the Leninist proposition that both are simply the reverse sides of the same opportunist coin.

While there has been a marked improvement in the Party's ideological work, especially in relation to schools and classes, it is still necessary to gear it to the solution of the above mentioned problems, and others, which are aimed first of all at gearing the Party to the fulfillment of its mass line and for consolidating and building the Party thereon.

This is especially needed in relation to arming our party to overcome all the ideological barriers to peace that remain among labor and the people, as, for example, the influence of such lies as "Soviet aggression", "red imperialism", "peace means depression", etc.

The forthcoming Midwest Edition of The Worker can provide an added stimulus to extend the gains in circulation already made, and for overcoming the failure to consolidate gains through further building of a permanent press apparatus.

The comparatively low level of literature sales and distribution underscores the need to expand our advocacy of socialism. This is essential not only for the public projection of the party and its policies, but also for party building. The slight pick-up in recruiting in 1959, mostly resulting from mass work, is indicative of new possibilities opening up, and points the need for a more conscious, planned approach to party building.

In this connection, revitalization and reinforcement of the policy of concentration on the workers in the basic industries and increased, systematic attention to out-state and South Side are imperative. While there is an improved situation in the steel, packing, auto, railroad and South Side organizations compared to the immediate past, we have not made a decisive turn in concentrated and persistent attention to these focal points.

The setting up of a Youth Commission and Party youth clubs have provided a stimulus to the development of certain mass youth activities which are increasingly providing the soil and the future cadre for launching in the not-too-distant future a Marxist orientated youth organization.

One of the most urgent needs of the Party is the training and development of new cadre and a proper blending of new and old cadre. This can best be advanced in the healthy, invigorating atmosphere of mass work.

In the main, the Illinois leadership held a correct position on the need of a two-front struggle against revisionism and dogmatism and in the period since the 16th convention. However, some comrades in the leadership tended to underestimate the revisionist danger in the period up to 1968, and thus share in the responsibility for the disorientation of the Party in that period.

Other comrades fed revisionism by "fighting" it with dogmatism and doctrinaireism, hampering the Party's struggles against revisionism and revisionist factions #/

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-E—Continued

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confronting the Party with dogmatism and dogmatist factions as the "alternative". Dogmatism and left sectarianism are also a form of opportunism; the Party must fight both, and not choose between right opportunism and "left" opportunism; although at any given moment it must deal with the main blow against that which becomes the main danger.

The mass work of the Party, as well as its inner life, depends upon our understanding of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and our ability to apply them creatively and concretely to all phases of our activity. This will require constant struggle against the pressures of the imperialist ruling class to capitulate through opportunist compromise or to escape the responsibilities of leadership by empty dogmatic phrasemongering.

The task of drawing the lessons of all the Party has been through in the last few years is being facilitated by the restoration of political health resulting from renewed efforts at mass work, the abatement and elimination of factional feuds and the unification of the Party leadership on the basis of sound principles and mass policies. Criticism and self-criticism, essential to the vitality, growth and success of the Party can be effective only when exercised in the Party spirit, when the fear of subjective exploitation of criticism and self-criticism are eliminated or reduced to the minimum. The subjective exploitation (or covering up) of mistakes and weaknesses is a characteristic feature of factional methods, factionalism and oligism, which inhibits comrades from freely and ably employing the constructive tools of criticism and self-criticism, preventing the Party from drawing the maximum benefit from lessons in the last number of years.

Toward this end, and to the end of speeding the consolidation of the Party to strengthen its capacity for mass work, it is necessary to destroy factionalism and its methods root and branch. The Illinois district early took a firm, decisive stand against factionalism from whatever direction and has consistently adhered to this position. But factional methods and hangovers remain. Whatever justification some comrades may feel they have for factionalism prior to February 1958, today, when the national leadership is united around correct mass policies, and in view of the tasks facing and flowing from the 17th convention, persistence in factional ways and methods of any kind, in which there are continued attacks on and disassociation from Party policies and leadership, can be justified on no account. To move forward, the Party must rid itself of incorrigible factionalism and its methods in decisive manner once and for all.

While there has been some improvement in the capacity of the State Committee to give leadership, collective methods of work have not been sufficiently achieved. We haven't licked the problem of how to achieve collectivity in policy-making, in conditions of far fewer full-timers. The responsibility for strengthening collective work rests on the board, and on the officers, in the first place. But such a responsibility is never a one-way street. No less does it require the willingness and desire of a growing number of comrades to take more responsibility and to actively participate in fulfillment of responsibility.

Looking toward the opening of a new decade which holds high promise of forward advance through struggle and unity, the Communist Party of Illinois must strive to come into the important 1960 year strengthened and much better geared to fulfill its mass obligations. The tasks of the 1960 elections and the promise of the new decade are a challenge to every Party club and member to break out of isolation and win bases of mass support for the policies of the Party.

Toward this end, the second session of the State Convention shall discuss and adopt a Plan of Work for 1960, embracing all fields of Party mass work and responsibility and based on the policies to be adopted by the 17th convention. To facilitate the preparation of this plan, all clubs, commissions and sections are invited to submit proposals for the plan as a whole, as well as for its various component parts.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-F

## ILLINOIS DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

We express our agreement with the policy outlined in the National Committee's Draft Resolution on the Negro Question in the U.S. We do this because it is our belief that the resolution is basically correct in both its estimate and outlook on the status of the Negro people in our country, - particularly are the following features of our National Resolution worthy of repetition and emphasis:

1. The new features of the Negro liberation movement.
  - a. Significant court victories scored under the leadership of the NAACP coupled with the growing mass action against jim-crow in the south
  - b. New initiatives among Negro workers for action against jim-crow in the trade union movement as well as in the country as a whole.
  - c. The embryonic but significant growth of new independent political action organizations in many Negro communities.
  - d. The use of nationalist sects and currents in Negro life, which on the one hand may contribute to the growing racial pride among the Negro people, but on the other hand advocate dangerous petty-bourgeois "solutions" to the Negro question.
  - e. The growing unity of mass action among the Negro people, that aids in stimulating liberal white Americans to support the struggle for Negro rights

These new features outlined in our National resolution, we believe, are extremely important for our entire party to understand and know. We further believe the resolution to be correct in emphasizing the ideological struggle that must be waged to strengthen the positive and progressive part of these new features, that is the need to know the enemies of the Negro freedom movement against whom the main blows must be directed at each given time, - one or another sector of the class of monopolists in different circumstances, while fighting against the exploitation and oppression of big business as a whole. Our party and our party along can and must play this role.

The estimates in the National Resolution of the status of Negro workers and farmers, the land question and the role of Dixiecratism are fresh and welcomed up to date analysis which we all welcome.

After thus stating our overall support to the line of the National resolution we offer some points of emphasis and additions, which we believe will strengthen our position in the fight for Negro liberation, and the overall struggle for the Democratic front in our country.

1. We believe the resolution is weak in its presentation of the centrality of the Negro question in the U.S. that is, we believe that the key to future progress for labor and the peoples movement lies in the fight for the solution to the Negro question.
2. We further believe that the final resolution must put forth more sharply the role, the responsibility and the self interest that white Americans have in the fight for Negro rights.
3. We support whole-heartedly that section of the resolution dealing with the role of Negro workers in the fight for Negro freedom, but feel an analysis and direction on the entire labor movement must be sharpened.
4. We expressed our agreement with the conclusion on dropping the slogan of self determination, but feel the scientific explanation needs more elaboration in our final document.
5. The use of "sects" among the Negro people has become a national phenomenon which our party must analyze. We do not express here any condemnation of these movements, but feel the mention of them in the resolution is inadequate.
6. We further believe the role of the NAACP must be reevaluated and restated for our party with a much more detailed analysis in the light of new developments in the liberation movement, - we do not, however, disagree with its importance or significance.
7. Lastly, we believe we must renew our fight for the right of Negro Communist to participate in the Negro peoples movement.

We repeat our position of agreement with the main direction of the National resolution, we offer these points as a means of strengthening our party's work in the struggle for Negro liberation. We too believe as was stated in our resolution, "The bonds of Negro oppression can and must be shattered! All signs point to an early and triumphant resolution of the centuries - old battle of the Negro people for full and equal citizenship. This in itself will represent a long overdue American achievement of great historic significance. In addition, by providing the basis for a higher unity of the working class, it will help pave the way for a socialist transformation of the national economy. We pledge ourselves to work toward the attainment of this objective with unstinting effort and unswerving dedication."

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-G

PRECONVENTION DISCUSSION

(We reproduce here a number of discussion articles which it was not possible to include in the printed material issued. In the case of some articles which were very lengthy, excerpts are presented; National Educational Department.)

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THE DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS

By R. B.

Despite the easing of tensions in world affairs, there is no sign of a comparable let-up in the domestic cold war against the constitutional rights of the American people. A basic estimate of this attack, its source and direction is a necessary foundation for effective leadership in the defense of our liberties:-

The trend toward destruction of traditional bourgeois democratic rights in the U.S. began to unfold, in the main, at the end of World War II. It is a reflection of the deepening crisis of the capitalist world, and the ineluctable contradictions faced by the ruling monopoly circles in the U.S. as a result of the growth of socialism, the national liberation movement of colonial countries and the inner contradictions of capitalist economy.

IMPERIALIST DILEMMA - U.S. imperialism faces a dilemma. On the one hand it seeks to drastically curb the rights of the people -- workers, Negroes, intellectuals -- in order to increase its rate of economic exploitation and stifle opposition to its pro-war policies. On the other hand, it tries to utilize the prestige of American democratic traditions as major ideological weapons in its struggle for world domination. This dilemma has led to splits in the ruling class and inner conflicts within the state apparatus.

Moreover, the special historic features of American constitutional government and democratic tradition have helped determine the forms and tactics of domestic reaction. The U.S. bourgeois state, now the instrument of the monopoly oligarchy, despite its surface democratic forms, has proved to be an effective instrument for suppression of popular opposition movements. Its "two party system" has served to thwart the will of the people and block the development of a genuine anti-monopoly coalition in the Northern states; its open fascist-like dictatorship in the deep South further buttresses the power of monopoly and its allies.

"Creeping Fascism" - American reaction has in the main followed a course of gradualism in sharpening its instruments of repression and attempting to gut the elements of popular democracy embodied in the Bill of Rights. While avoiding the appearance of a sharp break with the traditional methods of rule, it has gone a long way in altering the form of government. The new repressive apparatus includes a vastly expanded political police and espionage force, the SACB, the investment of new dictatorial powers in the Department of Labor, the Congressional standing committees with permanent staffs, and other agencies linked to the huge military bureaucracy. These are closely meshed with unofficial adjuncts of state power -- control of press, radio and TV, employer black-lists, "Americanization" committees of veterans organizations and the like.

American reaction has tried to masquerade as the defender of our Constitutional "way of life" and our "national security". Using "legality" to cover its violence to the Bill of Rights, it has forged a formidable arsenal of laws--the Smith Act, McCarran Act and Communist Control Act, McCarran-Walter Law, the Taft-Harley Law and the new labor control law.

Over the last six or seven years, the one partial (and temporary) governmental barrier to this "creeping fascism" has been the U.S. Supreme Court. Even this limited resistance by the Court, which always avoided direct assertion of First Amendment principles, led to a major treat to alter the Constitution and limit the traditionally defined role of the Court. Under this pressure, centered in Congress, the court majority retreated from its earlier libertarian stand.

Threat To First Amendment - The current struggle to preserve the First Amendment, which embodies the basic principles of the Bill of Rights, hinges on the defense of the rights of Communists. On this issue, reaction came close to victory in the era of McCarthyism, and once again threatens to break at this point the dam of Constitutional protections for all trends of dissenting opinion.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—Continued

2.

Civil libertarians must meet the challenge on this ground, or suffer serious and possibly fatal defeat in their effort to preserve the First Amendment. The bulk of the Common people, never wholeheartedly favorable to the tide of reaction, are showing growing understanding as the anti-union offensive tends to merge the economic struggles with defense of the Bill of Rights.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the AFL-CIO and other basic mass organizations of the people have eagerly adopted and still cling to the big lies of the "Communist menace", and have so far prevented the emergence of an effective pro-Bill-of-Rights coalition. This weakness, in turn, is reflected in Congress, which looks even a minority bloc--especially in the House--which stands squarely in defense of the First Amendment.

THREAT OF FASCISM? - With two basic tests--the membership provision of the Smith Act and the McCarran Act--now pending before the Supreme Court, and a flood of new repressive laws awaiting final action in Congress, the basic principles of the First Amendment are facing a crisis. The ultimate danger of a qualitative change in the substance of the state apparatus (i.e. fascism) cannot be minimized, even though the preparatory process is far from completed.

The Communist Party and those whom it influences can play a decisive role in helping to build a national resistance movement. They alone can fully expose the big lie of the "Communist Menace", the nature of reaction and the fascist threat. Through support to and initiation of united front movements, they can help concentrate the democratic forces upon the defense of the basic principles of the First Amendment. Today, the potentials for a powerful coalition in defense of the Bill of Rights are greater than they have been at any time since the cold war began in earnest. Given effective leadership, the people can preserve and extend their freedoms.

CHANGE NEEDED - It must be said self-critically that there has been a serious underestimation of the extent of the erosion of the Bill of Rights. The lack of this basic estimate has fed ideological unclarity and disunity. It has fostered complacency, on the one hand, and narrow, one-sided approaches to alliances, without perspectives of continuing growth and development, on the other. The defense of democratic rights has not been a main element in the mass work of the Party in many major areas of its work. It must now become one of the central tasks of the Communist Party as set forth in policies of the XVIIth Convention.

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PEACEFUL TRADE AND SHIPYARDS JOBS IN BROOKLYN ARE ELECTORAL ISSUES

By Will Farley (Excerpt)

Since last December there has been a good deal of legislative and political activity on the part of 26 metal trades unions at Brooklyn Navy Yard to prevent further layoffs of shipyards workers caused by the shifting of "defense" work elsewhere. Trips to Washington, D. C. to see Senators Keating and Javits and the Brooklyn delegation in Congress, visits to City Hall and Albany and delegations to New York political leaders ---- all with one aim in view: More "defense" contracts for Brooklyn Navy Yard. Dozens of other examples could be cited where union leaders and large numbers of workers see no other solution to the problem of unemployment except through more and more contracts for armaments.

Obviously, with this kind of lobbying and legislative activity--for more war shipbuilding and repair work -- legislators whether in New York or Washington will feel little compunction about voting for multi-billion dollar military budgets.

Last spring Governor Freeman of Minnesota made a trip to New York City to discuss peaceful foreign trade and to tell of expanded inland shipping facilities of the Port of Duluth. There has been much excitement and activity in the last year over the now-realized St. Lawrence Waterway which a whole generation of high school debating societies once orated about across the land.

Big shipping executives right here in our own bailiwick have spoken out about the desirability of more peaceful trade. Bankers and capitalists wine and dined Mikoyan last winter to stir up commerce overseas. As long ago as 1954 the American Labor Party showed exactly where there were 175,000 more jobs for New Yorkers if trade with China and other countries were opened up. Harry Bridges once estimated that some 3,000,000 more jobs in the United States would result if we established trade with China.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—Continued

3.

Bethlehem Steel Company recently announced the merger of its two Brooklyn shipyards "because of the depressed state of ship repairing activities in New York Harbor." This merger involves the loss of some 90 jobs unless they are absorbed somewhere else. Last winter Bethlehem as well as Todd Shipyard officials in the New York-New Jersey area pointed to the world shipping slump as the cause of layoffs at local shipyards in the past year or so.

In August of this year our Party conducted a number of fine meetings on the subject of peace, and some leaflets were issued. But to the best of my knowledge none of these leaflets were directed to workers--unemployed or about to be unemployed--who would gain tangible benefits by world peace AND world trade--shipbuilding and waterfront workers. None of these leaflets, as far as I know, listed specific PEACE-TIME industries which would benefit in terms of more jobs if peaceful trade were expanded. None of these leaflets gave any hint of the thousands of jobs which would result on the waterfront if the huge surpluses of food now costing millions of dollars in storage fees were shipped out to a world which, it has been conservatively estimated, has two-thirds of its population ill-fed.

Longshoremen would prefer shipping food and clothing and useful machinery and tools to the loading of dangerous explosives and other armaments. Shipyard workers would feel much happier were the ships they build and repair destined for peaceful commerce, the tourist trade and cultural, educational and scientific exchanges--the things that help create lasting peace.

Communist Party Clubs and committees need to issue this type of leaflets. Workers desperately trying to rescue their jobs, ultimately can be convinced that contracts for more war ships is not the solution for their employment problems.

It is getting on toward the time when voters must not be boxed in at each primary test or at convention time with the choice of nominating a person who is not so bad as opposed to one who is bad. Sooner or later there have to be some candidates who can be supported for the simple reason that they are good candidates who will fight in the people's interest. However, that time will not be reached until Communists and other advanced workers in the political arena take some of the issues out by the nape of the neck, and place them where the voters can see them and measure the various candidates in relation to their stand on these issues.

The issue on which there is quite universal agreement is the desirability of peace, but there are few legislators who will be pinned down on exactly what they will do to achieve it. All candidates say they want full employment. Working people need both peace and job security. Our Communist Party must give leadership in the struggle of the people to achieve these ends. Here are a few suggestions which may help:

\* The Industrial Division of the New York State Communist Party to issue a four page educational folder containing the Party's program for peacetime jobs for shipyards and waterfront workers.

\* A WORKER flyer by ace correspondents and reporters on what opening up of trade with China and other Socialist nations will mean in jobs for New York maritime workers; to show that peaceful foreign trade can actually mean MORE jobs than can contracts in war industries and the building and repair of war ships.

\* A Party County Committee could issue a leaflet calling upon the New York delegation in Congress to campaign for an honest to God Federal housing and school construction program. Workers in the shipbuilding trades can also build fine schools and low rent housing projects.

\* Communist Party Clubs with the help of their county Committees to make sure there are weekly leaflets for the next several months -- until primaries and nominating convention time -- on the issue of foreign trade and peacetime jobs.

All this will run up our printing and mimeographing bills, of course, but it will pay off in terms of a better informed electorate. I am quite sure it will stimulate some workers in their unions and in their shops and in their Assembly Districts to discuss alternatives to jobs in war industries. It may interest some of the more class conscious shipyards and waterfront workers in the full program of our Party.

But more than that --- I believe trade union delegations seeking an end to layoffs in the shipyards can be persuaded to change their pleas for more "defense"

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-G—Continued

4.

contracts into a demand for a vast building program which will put the skills and talents of the metals trades and other construction workers to work at building ships which will ply the trade routes the world over with food and clothing instead of the guns and other weapons of war now making up so much of our ships' cargo.

Congressmen faced with this type of delegation would feel a little more encouraged to favor housing and school construction bills over our \$46,000,000 military budget.

Candidates for district leadership and nomination in coming primaries and conventions would be put to the test were this type of trade union and voter delegation to ask of them assurances that they would legislate and act for jobs and not for war, cold or otherwise.

And out of such constructive pre-election voter activity there may develop candidates and other political leaders from the ranks of labor. It may appear to be starry-eyed and visionary to suggest that some of these things may be accomplished in time for the 1960 and 1961 elections, but it is not starry-eyed and visionary to state that unless we do help develop these legislative and political "movements in depth", election campaigns will continue to offer the voters only "lesser evil" choices.

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THE CHALLENGE OF SOCIALISM

By Tom Nabried

The recent visit of Soviet Premier Khrushchev to our country has opened up new opportunities for easing world tensions. The Draft Political Resolution of our Party correctly points out: "As we approach a new decade, the decade of the sixties, mankind stands at the threshold of a potential era of peace and plenty for all."

Khrushchev dealt with those issues that in one way or another touched upon the vital interests of all the people in the United States, irrespective of economic status, religious creed or political views and affiliation.

The main core of his speeches to various groups and to the people generally, were: Let us work for peace and learn to live together irrespective of the differences in our economic and political systems. Let us work toward total disarmament over a period of four years. Let us trade those things that each country can use without discrimination. Let us have peaceful competition between our two different social systems, capitalism and socialism.

He stated that socialism in the next 10 to 15 years will outstrip capitalism in production and in raising the living standard of the Soviet people to the highest ever attained by any social system.

Never in the history of our country has the leader of another nation challenged the United States government and its people to meet such a noble and just cause, not just for ourselves, not just for the Soviet Union and its people but for the sake of world's humanity. Khrushchev pleaded to mankind everywhere through his visit here, "Let us study war no more," which causes destruction, death and carnage. Do away with armaments races and relieve the heavy tax burden upon the national resources and spend the money for human welfare. Let us have peaceful competition in the economic welfare of our respective peoples, let us compete in culture, science and education.

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The reaction to the Khrushchev challenge is not the same among all groups in our country. Among the average responsible clear-minded citizens there is still some skepticism, but a willingness to give it a try. There have been many different reactions in various fields to different aspects of the question. For example in the field of science it has become increasingly clear to most Americans that socialism has been able to make its tremendous achievements by its planned economic system. It is further recognized that in education as well, America is being outstripped by leaps and bounds. Culturally the interchange between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. has opened many doors for further growth of peaceful relations between the two great nations. The American working class and people for the first time have been able to get first-hand information of the development

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—Continued

5.

of socialism and what it has to offer, directly from the top government official of the first socialist state, and they have begun to see that much of the information in America has been twisted and distorted.

The discussion between President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Khrushchev on the above issues and the expanding of trade and settling all outstanding differences through negotiation, without force, is part of the vast potential for peaceful competition and coexistence.

This beginning of exchange of visits by the two heads of states opens the possibility for the achievement of total disarmament and world peace, the aspiration of millions everywhere.

However, there also exists a powerful, wealthy group that wants no change in the cold war policy and is doing everything within its power to prevent a change. The people that make up this group are scattered, in official governmental departments, in business and among politicians in both Democratic and Republican Parties. Although the position of this group is detrimental to the best interests of our nation, the majority of the top leaders of the trade union movement accept and follow the policy for continuing the cold war.

However, the "cold war" crowd can only be successfully defeated by an acceptance of the Khrushchev challenge by the United States government and the people. The struggle for the acceptance of the Khrushchev challenge of peaceful living together requires courage and boldness and initiative on the part of the Communists.

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Since the 16th National Convention of the Party there seems to be a reluctance to boldly deal with questions of international relations and politics raised by leading Marxists of other countries. This concept flows from an attitude that agreement with them by an American Marxist means accepting dictation or not developing our own thinking in relation to Marxist-Leninist scientific theories and their application to the American scene.

Such an attitude can only lead to the conclusion that Marxism-Leninism is not an all encompassing science. In the fields of science generally, scientists must utilize that store of knowledge or the laws of science that have been discovered and amassed by other scientists in order to make a contribution to new discoveries and the advancement of human welfare. It is for this reason that it often happens that scientists in one country and those in another can draw the same conclusions in a given field, and they may not have any physical connections to each other. Thus Marxists can reach similar conclusions in various countries.

The leading role of the Communist Party is blurred by incorrect thinking by some Communists that if the Party projects new ideas that have not yet been raised by the masses or their leadership, that the people would hesitate to accept such ideas and that the Party would be further isolated. This thinking leads the Party into the position of waiting to see what others will say or do. This negates the leading role of the Party of educating the people and advancing the fight to higher political levels.

It is incumbent upon our Party to most vigorously open the struggle for the acceptance of the Khrushchev challenge amongst the widest section of the population. Through the development of such an outlook can the U.S. government be convinced that such competition is the only alternative to a war of annihilation. It is through such an approach that the objectives set by our draft resolution can be achieved.

"To defeat the reactionary offensive of corporate wealth, to advance the fight for peaceful coexistence, economic security and civil rights and liberties, it is necessary to achieve the broadest, most resolute unity of action of the working class and its allies.

"It is essential to bring into existence an anti-monopoly people's coalition uniting labor, the Negro people, the small farmers, students, professionals, small businessmen and other democratic elements on a program of action for economic welfare, democratic rights and peace."

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-G—Continued

6.

ON THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION

By Cyril Briggs

Together with the projection of a correct main line -- promotion of the greatest possible unity of all who stand for peace and the building of the democratic front against the monopolies--the Draft Political Resolution contains a number of grave defects and weaknesses. These must be corrected if the proposed resolution is to maintain the high political level expressed in the formation of its main line. Chief among these defects are:

1. Its failure (a) to offer a program for the liberation of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the numerous Pacific islands occupied by the U.S. under one pretext or another, and treated as colonial possessions; (b) to analyze in depth the role of U.S. imperialism as a colonial power and the chief bulwark today of the collapsing imperialist-colonial system. The draft resolution thus fails to recognize the obligation of Marxists of every country to expose and combat their own imperialists.

2. It treats too lightly the question of Cuba and the necessity of U.S. workers to defend, in their own interests, the Castro revolution and government. It must give far more recognition to the importance of the Cuban revolution, both in relation to the Cuban people and all the peoples of Latin America and the desperate efforts of U.S. imperialism to wipe out the example it offers to other Latin-American peoples, its already discernible impact on Panama, Brazil, etc. The proposed resolution must expose before the U.S. working class and nation the falsity and hypocrisy of the contention in certain circles that this country has always been a good friend of the Cuban people and an ardent supporter of their aspirations for national independence and dignity--their synthetic "surprise" at the "ingratitude" of the Cuban people. Exposure of this ribald lie is basic to our defense of the Cuban revolution. One of the most effective means of doing this, in our opinion, is to spotlight both present and past machinations of U.S. monopolies and the State Department against Cuban and Guatemalan independence, with some generalizations on this same theme in regard to other Latin-American countries.

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3. It is not enough for the draft resolution to give six lines to "the increasing manifestations of anti-Semitism" in our country. A more vigorous presentation of the sinister increase in anti-Semitic acts and propaganda is needed. The fight against anti-Semitic poison must also be one of the points in the immediate program proposed by the draft resolution. (Political Affairs, Sept., 1959, p. 29)

The proposed resolution must also take note of the divisive and disruptive influences in the rise of a rabid Jewish bourgeois nationalism in our country, focused around the State of Israel and its pro-imperialist orientation, which finds reflection in an important section of the Zionist movement in the U.S.

The pro-imperialist character of this Jewish bourgeois nationalism serves not only to isolate Israel from the powerful conscious anti-imperialist currents in the national liberation revolution sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin-America, but gravely affects the friendly relations between the Jewish people and the Negro people, whose sympathies are with the anti-imperialist-colonialist revolution. It feeds anti-Semitic currents in the Negro community, derived from the national stream of anti-Semitic poison and provided a phony rationale by the fact that it is the Jewish merchants, with their anti-Negro employment policies, and not the representatives of monopoly capital, who are visible in the Negro community.

Irritating and exasperating as is the reactionary role of Jewish merchants in the Negro community, Negro Marxists have historically recognized that the enemy in the path of the Negro people is not the Jewish merchants, but monopoly capital. They know it is monopoly capital that originated and today strives desperately to maintain the infamous U.S. jimcrow pattern. They know, too, that monopoly capital would like nothing better than to have attention diverted from itself, have Jews depicted as the main enemy of the Negro people. Thus, Negro Marxist recognize their obligation to vigorously combat such a consummation, in the interests of Negro freedom and Jewish-Negro unity--so vital a factor in the fight against racism, white supremacy and anti-Semitism. But our Negro comrades should not be left to conduct this struggle alone. Their efforts must be supplemented and supported by our Party boldly adopting a Marxist-Leninist position on Jewish bourgeois nationalism and the Middle East, thereby repudiating at long last the peddling of the Ben-Gurion line by

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-G—Continued

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the Daily Worker during the editorship of the renegade John Gates. Our Party must defend the right of Israel to exist, but criticize the reactionary policies of its rulers. On this point we could well take a lesson from the valiant Israeli Communist Party.

Moreover, unless we are to abdicate the Jewish community to the bourgeois nationalists, have the Jewish working class succumb to their reactionary influences, we must vigorously combat all that is reactionary in Jewish bourgeois nationalism, just as we must combat what is reactionary in Negro bourgeois nationalism, and not treat bourgeois nationalism, as the draft resolution does, as if it were a problem only for the Negro movement.

It is not enough to leave the ideological struggle to the Morning Freiheit and other Left Jewish publications. Not all of our Jewish comrades read Yiddish and can avail themselves of the excellent discussions and guidance offered by the Freiheit. Nor, indeed, should our Jewish comrades be expected to carry alone the burden of the struggle against Jewish bourgeois nationalism. This is the duty of the Party as a whole.

Developments and trends in the Jewish community must be of the greatest concern to all Communists. We should never forget that many of our most capable and valiant comrades were recruited in that community, nor that the Jewish people have a long progressive tradition. It is our duty to keep that tradition alive and strengthen it against the inroads of Jewish bourgeois nationalism.

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4. The draft resolution ignores completely the problems of the Mexican workers and the Mexican-American community. It likewise by-passes the problems of Puerto Rican workers in our country and the position and role of women in U.S. society, including the triply oppressed Negro women and their outstanding contributions to the Negro freedom movement. It treats inadequately the problems and role of the youth.

5. It falls far short of adequate criticism of business unionism and the treacherous, class collaborationist role of its leaders on both domestic and foreign issues, including the vicious activities of these leaders in seeking to subvert and undermine the newly-won political independence of Asian and African nations and the national-revolutionary struggles of those peoples still under the yoke of imperialism, in line with State Department policies.

6. It fails aggressively to defend the Party and its members: the right of Communists to function without harassment and persecution, without being penalized by blacklists, etc., for their political convictions. In this connection, it must be said, the liberal Professor Joseph P. Morray does a far better job, in his recently published book Pride of State (Beacon Press, Boston) of defending the U.S. Marxist movement than our Party has been doing in this period.

It is our opinion, too, that the proposed resolution should also defend those basic Marxist-Leninist theories that are under violent attack today, both by the bourgeoisie and their intellectual lackeys, and by some of our own comrades. A vigorous defense of the theory of relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class could do much to dispel many of the illusions of the working class.

A program for a Marxist Party, such as must be projected, or at least outlined, in its (main) political resolution must, of course, deal with many aspects in the life of its country and working class. This necessity does not, however, exempt it from the obligation of selecting the most important issues for an exploration in depth. The proposed resolution needs to amplify its analysis of major issues. Much of its present treatment of issues is superficial, platitudinous and verbose.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

By E.G., New York

During the course of "Some Aspects of the Negro Question" --a July, 1959 Marxist World Review article based on a report to the National Committee--James E. Jackson declares (emphasis his):

1. "The Negro people are most severely oppressed and exploited of all the peoples who make up the American nation."

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-G—Continued

8.

2. "But the Negroes in the United States are not constituted as a nation. They rather have the characteristics of a racially distinctive people or nationality and constitute a historically determined component part of the whole American nation, which, as is well known, is itself an historically derived national formation, an amalgam of more or less well-differentiated nationalities."

3. "To conclude that the Negro people in the United States are not a nation is not to say that the Negro question in our country is not a national question. It is indeed a national question. The question is, however, a national question of what type, with what distinguishing characteristics, calling for what strategic concept for solution?"

Following his three hypotheses (as quoted above), Comrade Jackson prepares the reader for a definition of the "type" of "national question" the Negro question is. He does it by pointing out that "Marxism-Leninism regards the national question from the viewpoint of liberating the oppressed nations and nationalities, linking this task with the struggle for liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism in a given country and on a world scale"; he does it by explaining that "The path of development of the Negro people toward the achievement of equality does not take the route of struggle for national independence, political-geographical sovereignty and statehood" but, rather, that "The Negro people...historically, now, and, most probably, for the future, seeks a solution of its national question in the struggle for securing equality in political, economic, and social fields as a component part of the American nation"; and he does it by showing that this interpretation of the Negro question does not diminish "the revolutionary import of the Negro people's struggle" but that it is in "the main line of the present-day reality, namely, that the solution of all democratic tasks is worked out in conformity with and on the basis of the primacy of the working-class struggle to transform modern society along socialist lines." Having thus prepared you for his definition of the "type" of "national question" the Negro question is, Comrade Jackson says (emphasis his):

"This places the struggle for the solution of the Negro question in direct and strategic relationship to the present-day movement for progress, and its main social force--the working class."

And that statement, as far as I was able to determine, is his answer to his query.

Because, it seems to me, Comrade Jackson has answered only one element of his question, and the "type" to which this "national question" belongs seems to be missing--a situation which may leave one doubting that what he calls the national "is indeed a national question"--I am posing a series of hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. A national minority presupposes existence of a nation to which that minority belongs. The phrase "national minority" used in this sense is a political term. It implies either (most commonly) nationals of a subject or dominated country living in the country which dominates their homeland and who consequently are treated as inferiors, or (sometimes) nationals whose country is not directly dominated by the host country but who, themselves, are politically and otherwise maltreated by the host country. A group of Kenyans, for example, residing in London, is a national minority, as is a group of Algerians living in Paris. Cypriots living in England are a national minority. Until the Gold Coast became the independent state of Ghana, any group of that country's indigenous peoples living in England was a national minority and the political, economic, and social issues arising from these Africans' being in England formed a national question. Suppose a Negro nation occupied the heart of the Deep South--as Jackson says is not the case Negroes living outside that area and elsewhere in the United States would be a national minority, wouldn't they? There being no such nation, can there still be a Negro national minority and a national question?

Hypothesis 2. Descendants of the black race brought to America from 340 to less than 200 years ago are United States citizens. They are not and cannot be nationals of their ancestors' homeland, Africa, first because these descendants were born in the U.S., and also because they could not be nationals of the whole of Africa even if they had been born on that continent, Africa being constituted of thousands of nationalities and many countries--as is America or Asia or Europe. May we, therefore, call United States descendants of Africans from the old "Gold Coast" a national minority because they bear some physical characteristics of their ancestors, anymore correctly than we may call other U.S. citizens national minorities because their parents or grandparents came from Italy or Japan or Ireland or

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-G—Continued

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China? Would we say that Ghanaian authorities were wrong not long ago when they told U.S. Negroes who sought to emigrate to Ghana that they were not welcome under the circumstances and reminded them that they were U.S. citizens?

**Hypothesis 3.** Negroes are a minority among the white people of the United States. If it should be decided that Negroes are not a national minority, should it be decided also that since "minority" thus used is a political term, the Negro is a minority of any sort only because he is a part of a political equation that has yet to be solved, and that when this political equation is solved he no longer will be a "minority" although still outnumbered by white people? In the meantime, however, being a minority, is he, or is he not, Jackson's "racially distinctive" minority?

**Hypothesis 4.** Comrade Jackson, referring to the dropping of the concept of the Negro nation, writes that the Negro people "constitute a part (although the part most deprived of its rights) of the American nation." Our use of the geographically ambiguous and politically outrageous term "American nation" implies great-nation chauvinism that is hateful in any people and especially hateful in an oppressed people. The people of the United States, including us, the Negroes, have not maliciously, but have thoughtlessly, adopted the imperialist-rulers' jargon in referring to our country's relations with other countries and other peoples. Those of us who accept the Marxist definition of a nation cannot similarly accept the term "American" as just another way of saying "United States." We cannot accept it for the politically sound reason that this is talking not only like great-nation chauvinists who refuse to see Latin America and Canada as, themselves, comprising complete nations; we also make ourselves liable to the just criticism of Cuba, Panama, and other Latin American countries who are struggling against U.S. imperialism and look to United States Communists at least for understanding.

**Hypothesis 5.** The Negro people are "racially distinctive," as Jackson says; they also, as he says, "constitute a historically determined component of the whole" people of the United States. Neither in the so-called Black Belt of the Deep South nor in any other area of the U.S. do Negroes show indications of desiring the right of self-determination--that is, independence--in the sense, say, that the people of Algeria desires it and that Guinea desired and, finally got it. Is that because U.S. Negroes are conscious, though on the whole vaguely, of the important fact that but for them the primary accumulation of wealth upon this continent would have been different? Is it that they have learned--and are continuing to learn, especially through the medium of Negro History Week--that beginning with the first arrival of 20 indentured African servants at Jamestown, Va., in 1619, their more than 200 years of unpaid-for labor power went into building the wealth of the South; that since 1863 and the proclamation of emancipation the Negro's labor power, only partly paid for, has continued to enrich the South and, incidentally, the rest of the country? Is it that he knows that nothing in the culture of this country is without him imprint; that anthropologists declare his blood to flow through the veins of a majority of old-stock citizens of the U.S.?

**Hypothesis 6.** Desegregation --the removal of barriers separating "blacks" from "whites", or the killing of jimcrow--has been going on, formally, in the area of public school education and in a limited number of other areas of the South, since the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision. Integration, on the other hand, has been proceeding on the North American continent since 1619, steadily and inexorably, but informally, therefore under difficulties. Some Supreme Court decisions are an aid to integration's going ahead formally and the Negro people are taking advantage, where possible, of such opportunities as are offered. When Negroes say they desire to be integrated into the general fabric of the economic, social and political life of their country they consider that they are speaking, first of all, of their country--the whole of it--and they take the word integration to mean to fit one into another; simultaneously to exchange what I have for what you have, each to make the other's his own and to combine. It implies to the Negro complete equality, because an exchange implies worth for worth, value for value. Integration as a social concept in the U.S. means, in practice, placing the Negro (unequal in general, sociologically, to the white man) in a position from which he may the better work toward overcoming his inequality. If the Negro, as I say here, thus interprets the idea of integration and thus acts in accordance with his interpretation, he is wrong and should be shown by us to be a national minority concerned with a national question and that integration, which he wants, is incompatible with the C.P. program. True? False? How?

**Final Hypothesis.** Integration rather than the right of self determination is desired by the Negro people of the United States, except for such groups as the

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-G—Continued

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so-called Muslims and a few separatist elements. The Negro people desire such integration not only because there is no political base for separation in the heart of the monopoly-capitalist country which is the United States of America, but chiefly because they feel that, in such a setup--if it were possible--they would lose more than they would gain. (As the Algerians, on the other hand, would lose more than they would gain by choosing integration instead of independence,) U.S. Negroes would lose the wealth created by their labor (as manifested in the material wealth of the United States), the billions of man-hours expended, their gifts to this culture and, in consequence, their right to the claim, as they now declare it, that this is their country because, but for them, there would not be this country.

\* \* \*

The foregoing hypotheses are presented, as hypotheses always must be presented, as facts (or theories), not as dogma, and should be accepted as facts until proved wrong. I must ask, as an afterthought, for I forgot to insert the question earlier, what becomes of the theory of "the Negro national bourgeoisie" and of the Negro people (divided as they are in classes, the majority being workers themselves) as "an ally" of "the working class"? Are these two conceptions compatible with the integrationist movement? Does not this whole Negro question call for a great deal more study by persons who have been, in some cases, offensively overbearing in their dogmatism on this question?

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REMARKS ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION

West Jefferson Club, Moranda

Smith Section, Los Angeles, Calif.

ON THE INTRODUCTION

The introduction should set forth a Communist Party program. The Communist Party is based on the science of Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action and analysis in answering the many questions confronting the people under our capitalist society. Therefore it is incumbent on us to present a rounded program based on the specific conditions in the U.S., setting forth demands uppermost in the interests of the people and charting the course to guarantee a peaceful development of a socialist U.S.

We are of the opinion that a Party program must define for the people, as well as our members, the specific tasks and responsibilities that fall upon our Party, and why it has such responsibilities. Also, it should clarify the difference between the Communist Party and the bourgeois parties.

Secondly, the introduction should place in order of importance those sections of the people who can most influence the development of our country. Herein, we see the role of the working class as the key force, both in the struggle for peace and in the struggle for socialism.

To guarantee the vanguard role of our Party, it is necessary to assure the fullest working-class participation and membership in it. Our program must be one geared to aiding the struggle of our working class to its logical conclusion, which is peace and socialism.

In view of the fact that socialism is our main strategic aim, a major section of the introduction should be one introducing the concept of socialism, for it is overall purpose of the resolution to lead the people of our country closer to peace and socialism.

ON SECTION II

The draft resolution makes many excellent points on the peace question, thus reflecting a generally correct line. It can be improved by consolidating all the points into a clearly-defined, unmistakably Marxist-Leninist line on the struggle for peace.

The Communist Party, guided by the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence, is in the vanguard of the struggle for peace. This point should be developed explicitly in the resolution. The theory of peaceful coexistence is derived from the Leninist analysis of imperialism into the three well-known contradictions. The

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—Continued

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idea of the possibility of building socialism in one country (the point of convergence of the three contradictions) was developed from this analysis.

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The correctness of this idea was proven with the defeat of fascism in World War II. Today we have developed it into the theory of peaceful coexistence, of peaceful competition between the socialist and capitalist sectors. On the one hand, we have the realization, in actual fact, of the superiority of the socialist system along with its victory in country after country. On the other hand, we have increasingly insurmountable contradictions within and among the imperialist countries along with the breakup of colonial rule in country after country. This is how Marxist-Leninists envision the victory of socialism on a world scale. This is what is encompassed by the term "peaceful coexistence."

Two conclusions follow from this:

1. Since this is a fundamental contradiction, it should be reflected in every nation, in every town, in every factory, in every organization, in every man, woman and child, and in every problem no matter how general or how personal.
2. The struggle for peace is inseparably connected with the struggle for socialism.

The draft is weak on both points. On the first it states that the overwhelming majority are as one in their fear of nuclear war and their desire for peace. This certainly does provide a basis for a united peace movement but it is not enough. The American people have not had the same kind of war experience as the peoples of other countries, where the conscious peace movements are of mass character. This desire for peace based on the fear of nuclear war must be linked up with the actual experiences of the American people living under the tremendous burdens of the war economy.

We have mounting inflation, taxes, crisis in educational facilities, juvenile delinquency, housing shortage, etc. For the Negro people and other minorities this means ever increasing shifting of the burdens from the privileged section of the workers. The cost of producing one bomber can practically eliminate the worst forms of juvenile delinquency in our city. It can keep our libraries open for the next half century on Saturdays. Or it can pay a year's salary for several hundred new school teachers.

Secondly, in the struggle to rid themselves of the hardships brought about the war economy, the American people must inevitably develop closer and friendlier ties with the socialist countries and with the American Communist Party which always stands for proletarian internationalism. It is no accident that the militancy of our labor leaders can be measured by their differing attitudes towards the Soviet Union, or that the Communist Party is singled out above all other groups as the object of vilification and persecution by reaction. This is one very important reason why the workers will inevitably turn to our Party for leadership. Our Party is universally recognized as the enemy of capitalism, as the party of socialism.

The main weakness of the section on peace is that it tends to isolate it from the day-to-day needs of the people and also from the struggle for socialism. It is open to both Left and Right deviations. This is not unusual; both deviations are the same underneath. This tendency of isolating the struggle for peace in and for itself also shows the influence of the pacifists who have made a tremendous impact upon the Left wing in recent years.

This isolation is further emphasized by its neglect in other sections of the draft. The section on the economic situation omits the question of the harmful effects of the East-West trade embargo and the role of East-West trade in converting

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—Continued

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to peace-time economy. In fact the whole question of converting to peace-time economy is neglected. The negative as well as the positive attitudes of our labor leaders on the peace question should be pointed out somewhere in the resolution.

The title of the peace section tends to restrict the peace issue to a question of foreign policy.

The draft resolution opens its peace section with the statement that the "maintenance of peace" is the primary issue. This phrase should be changed to the "achievement of peace" or some other similar phrase. We cannot have peace by maintaining the status quo. We can have peace only by going forward.

ON SECTION III ---- THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

This section should be the cornerstone on which rests the whole of our political analysis. Therefore it must clearly present an overall picture of the economic trends and developments in our country since our last convention. How do these effect and compare with the total world economic outlook? What benefits have accrued to the workers of the U.S. from our country's imperialist policies, and what is our role as Communists? Was the economic analysis outlined in our '57 Convention Resolution a correct estimate? If not, what were its weaknesses?

Inclusion of "Militant Moods" and "Reactionary Offensive" in this section is confusing. These would be better placed at the beginning of the section dealing with the 1960 Elections as a base for developing its thesis. Also, in the order the they are presented, the final emphasis is on the reactionary. Instead of this mechanical separation, we propose a full evaluation of each political point to eliminate jumping back and forth in order to weigh the positive and negative aspects of each. As it stands there are no conclusions and we are left to speculate on whether we are gaining or losing ground.

The description of the economy as shaky and unstable but on the upgrade (for how long long -- six months, 5, 10 or 15 years?) is too superficial. While it isn't necessary to enumerate all the statistics, we recommend the inclusion of the most important figures with an analysis of such figures as are available in the Labor Fact Book #14.

(There follow a number of figures on trends in production investment, prices, profits, taxes, etc., which we omit for reasons of space.-Ed.)

Further, we feel this section must include: relation of fixed capital to variable capital; bank control -- mortgages on homes and small business; interlocking control; credit and interest rates; gold standard and currency manipulation; interest on war debt; manipulation of stock market; installment credit; cost of advertising to consumers; insurance companies role; land ownership; medical costs; crime cost; public works; unemployment and welfare figures; shoddy production of consumer goods.

For emphasis, we separate the whole question of export of capital which in the greatest imperialist country in history assumes major importance. The only formulation at all, referring to "establishing plants abroad ... at the expense of jobs of American workers" reflects great national chauvinism and is totally inadequate as an analysis of the export of capital.

Also, automation deserves a much fuller treatment, which would lend naturally into a discussion of the plight of the unemployed -- the difficulties of collecting unemployment insurance and welfare -- the treatment of old age pensioners and the attacks on aid to dependent children -- the effect of automation on the white collar workers. The analysis of automation in relation to the Negro people and the resultant unemployment should be treated more extensively, also, youth, Indians, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans. What is happening to women and older workers?

The main resolution, and especially the section dealing with economics, needs a fuller treatment of the trade unions, East-West trade and the possibilities of conversion to peaceful production.

Other points needing clarification are:

Page 29. Growth of state monopoly capitalism.

Page 29. Why was the third slump the most severe?

Page 30. Relocation of new factories--where? Who are the new workers?

What of working conditions, unions? What is happening in auto where unemployed

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—Continued

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workers are returning to West Virginia and other home areas when unemployment compensation runs out?

Page 30. Looting the federal treasury--how?

Page 30. Colossal burden of interest on the taxpayers--which taxpayers?

Page 30. Treatment of the farmers is so brief and superficial it doesn't answer anything. Where have they gone? Who owns the land? Who is farming it? What changes in methods have occurred? What is produced? What is the role of price supports, soil erosion prevention and other government policies? What about working conditions, wages, unions, cooperatives?

Page 31. Thirty-hour week--at what wages?

Why is there nothing on a new federal minimum wage law?

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THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IN THE UNITED STATES

By Felix Anderson

(Excerpts)

Two outstanding historical developments characterize the present era. One is the rise of socialism. The other, its importance less widely noted, is the emergence of a new technology based largely on developments in the fields of nuclear energy and automatic control.

This new technology holds in store for mankind and, in particular, for America, two alternative and mutually exclusive fates: (1) thermonuclear rocket war, with the annihilation of a majority of the human race and destruction of civilization as we know it; (2) freedom from want, relief from drudgery, and greatly increased leisure for all the people.

The question of war or peace thus presents itself today as the question of which way nations will use the vast technological capabilities and energy resources which science has brought forth.

\* \* \*

It is prerequisite to a mass peace movement in the U.S. that major sections of the population see clearly the existence of sharp contradictions between continuation of the cold war on one hand and pursuit of the national welfare on the other. What are the most important considerations for the Party and the Left in helping the American people to see why (and then decide how) the cold war should be junked? First, we must base our work on an understanding of the fundamental importance of the new technology. And second, this work must proceed from a deepened understanding of the popular consciousness.

How do the American people feel about the cold war policy with its risk of thermonuclear war? The chief characteristic is bewildered concern. On one hand, the people hear about the great destructive capacity of H-bombs; but on the other hand, they are assured that with evacuation, shelters, anti-missile missiles, and "clean bombs," the losses can be "minimized." On one hand, they hear that many scientists are worried about anticipated biological effects of fallout from nuclear tests, but on the other hand, they are told by the A.E.C. that these effects are "negligible."

Forces within and without the government seek to prevent popular participation in the decisions concerning the use of nuclear energy and nuclear weapons. They are therefore deliberately restricting and distorting information; thereby they vitiate the democratic functioning of government and deny citizens the right to participate in the making of decisions essential to their well-being. Fundamental policy decisions proceed from technical considerations which, the people are told, they are incapable of grasping; they are reassured, however, that the decisions are being based on the thinking of competent specialists whose objectivity and patriotism are beyond question.

But there is a growing body of persuasive evidence that the people are disturbed by the idea of leaving to the "experts" the decision of policy questions upon which human survival depends. Thus (see *The Nation*, June 13 and Sept. 26, 1959), in at least two large cities, New York and St. Louis, the popular demand for sound

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—Continued

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information on radiation and its hazards has become so great that volunteer organizations have been created to provide the means of communication between the public and scientists who are concerned about the public's right to know.

These organizations have avoided the advocacy of particular policy positions, apparently adhering instead to the objective of an informed public able to participate in the democratic process. Probably due in large measure to this broad approach, these groups have received many requests for speakers from FFA's women's groups, church bodies, Lions Clubs, etc. Inevitably, it is reported, the discussion reveal the people's concern to know how they can become better informed and how they can most effectively voice their views.

For us, this places the fight for the people's right to participate in deciding how nuclear energy and weapons will be used as the key tactical principle in the American peace struggle today. The obtaining of essential information on these problems is an integral part of the struggle. It should be evident that these struggles will not be easily won, and the course of the struggle itself will offer profound politically educating experiences. It should also be evident that the fight for the right to be informed and to participate in the formation of policy corresponds exactly to the present state of readiness of the American people.

\* \* \*

The state of popular awareness of the progressive economic implications of the new technology is undoubtedly far below the understanding of the military side. In trade union circles, automation has been generally viewed as a necessary evil rather than a potential boon; it is considered mainly in terms of defensive measures against dislocation of workers. This is no more than natural when automation is seen only as a development in capitalism, which will serve to enhance both profits and unemployment. It is of course correct for the unions to concern themselves with the short term defense of the workers' security. But the situation demands the elaboration of a broad program for the rational and comprehensive application of automation to the American economy in the public interest.

In this richest of countries, the working class is confronted by the fear that disarmament and automation bode mass unemployment. However, this overlooks the role which the people can play in shaping their own future. Their failure to consider this question is related in turn to confusion about the cold war and unawareness as to the material benefits which automation can bring. We suspect that on the latter question, workers would exhibit a voracious appetite for information, right now. Both the Party and the mass organizations can help the people elaborate the needed economic program; but in attempting this, both must engage in continuing discourse with the people and be keenly attuned to their thoughts.

There is no obvious factor precluding that much of such an economic program could be realized in the U.S. under capitalism. This would of course hinge on the developing course of ruling class strength and on the extent of determined working class struggle for transition to a peaceful economy with a minimum of economic travail.

It is still too early to assess fully the attitudes of the ruling class toward the future of the cold war or to perceive completely the divergences which may arise. Even a monopoly capitalist may not remain oblivious to the destructive power of modern weapons and the strength of the socialist camp as deterrents to imperialist war. Moreover, it is likely that some will question whether disarmament or inflation poses the greater threat to capitalist economic stability.

However, the basic laws of monopoly capitalism still operate. The increasing limitations on the capitalist market still give rise to imperialist aspirations. And whatever the subjective attitude of some monopoly capitalists, this heavily armed imperialist power remains a threat to peace. In U.S. ruling circles, it is still widely maintained that a nuclear war is admissible, and the doctrine of preventive nuclear war has yet to be repudiated. The deterrents already mentioned cannot be deemed guarantees of peace. Whatever powerful deterrents to war may arise from the objective situation abroad, the guarantee that aggressive war will not be waged by the U.S. can be provided ultimately only by the political intervention of broad sections of the American people in behalf of peace.

Peaceful competition is possible but it will offer neither a solution nor a mitigation of monopoly capitalist problems. A popular program for transition to a non-military economy with a working class share in the benefits of automation may be expected to arouse the bitter opposition of much of the ruling class. Nevertheless,

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—Continued

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we may anticipate some support within the ruling class for such a program; this will facilitate adoption and implementation of the program.

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In summary, the Party's program for peace must focus on these important new elements:

- (1) An analysis of the situation and alternatives arising out of the new technology
- (2) A program for implementing the new and forthcoming technological developments under full employment to enrich the lives of the people; indeed, this must be seen as the positive essence of meeting the Soviet challenge to peaceful competition. The American people will see that they can only gain from such a race.
- (3) A struggle for the democratic right of the people to participate in the making of public policy; this presupposes a campaign for public education on those basic, incontrovertible facts which the public knows it lacks and which are indispensable for forming an intelligent opinion on the key questions relating to peace.

In addition, the Party must engage with new vigor and flexibility in the clarification of the crucial political blind spots which underlie the cold war ideology. These efforts will be greatly assisted by steps to broaden the free exchange of ideas and persons between East and West. In the spirit of constructive peaceful competition in ideas, new forms of exchange should be promoted, and the fear of ideas should be swept away.

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ON THE MAIN IDEOLOGICAL TASKS

By D.E.

The Draft Political Resolution has been endorsed widely, if not unanimously, at club, section and district levels in our state. Yet, the discussion and the endorsement was of a critical nature. The NEC Open Letter to the membership was a timely and sensitive response to this critically constructive attitude toward the resolution.

It is in this critical spirit that I want to discuss the section dealing with the educational content of our mass work and particularly that related to the tasks of our inner ideological responsibilities. After correctly indicating (it is true, somewhat routinely) the dangers to the working class and the common people in anti-Sovietism, anti-communism, racism, anti-Semitism, bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, the Draft calls for the exposure of this poisonous ruling class propaganda.

The Draft then declares: "Within the ranks of the Party and among other progressive forces, it is necessary to wage the most uncompromising and consistent struggle against revisionism. This opportunist trend has its source in the ideology of the imperialist ruling class which, through a whole range of social reformist and 'class partnership' ideas and illusions, exerts its pressure on labor and the middle classes and, in turn, within the Party. Exposing and combatting revisionist ideas and practices, which did great damage to our party in the period from 1956 to 1958, as well as in earlier periods, is our main ideological task." It then adds: "At the same time, the Party must vigorously combat doctrinairism and sectarianism."

Obviously, this section cannot be discussed by itself. It needs to be reviewed in my opinion from at least three inter-related approaches. First and foremost, it needs examination in relation to current theoretical problems that we face and particularly to current experiences in mass work. Second, it calls for an analysis on the background of the 16th Convention and in the context of national committee pro-nouncements since that convention. Third, it needs to be viewed in the light of the historic document adopted in Moscow in November 1957 and known as the Declaration of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries. The general content of modern revisionism, its sources as well as its effects, were presented with crystal clarity in that Declaration.

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In our Party, before, at, and for some time after the 16th Convention,

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—continued

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revisionism expressed itself primarily in denying the need for a Marxist vanguard party, in rejecting democratic centralism as the tested form of party organization, and in rejecting the universal validity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It further exhibited its anti-Marxist character by violating principles of proletarian internationalism, and by weakening the ties of the fraternal Communist Parties.

In some cases, the revisionists looked forward to an ever-expanding capitalist prosperity in the midst of an ever-widening democracy leading gradually and peacefully without revolution to socialism. These and other unscientific views, such as attitudes to social democracy and reformism, the welfare state, etc., were rejected piecemeal, some at the 16th Convention, other following the convention, and most decisively at and after the February 1958 National Committee meeting, which adopted a position of a simultaneous struggle against opportunist and revisionist influences and against sectarianism and dogmatism.

Which, if any, of these revisionist views on the role of our Party, on the crisis-free capitalism, on the attitude to the socialist countries, on the estimate for a flowering of bourgeois democracy and a growing over into the welfare state are today prevalent in our Party? What National Committee member, what state committees, what branches, or individual members today advocate these alien ideas in our ranks? What articles or editorials in Political Affairs or The Worker since February 1958 can and should be labeled properly as revisionist or rightist in direction?

Even if only very few in our ranks would promote such harmful propositions, the danger would be grave indeed, and a decisive ideological struggle against them would be in order. How can we judge the gravity of the situation now unless we are concretely informed of such trends, if any exist, either in the leadership or in the ranks?

One of the most serious manifestations of rightist thinking and practice that does continue to exist is the minimization of the role of our Party. Underestimating the Party or even negating its role in concrete situations where potentialities for such expression of our vanguard role, either through individuals or through the organization as such, are both possible and necessary, is an error of a rightist or revisionist character. This is not to be confused with the sectarian who answers every call for participation in mass activity by proposing another Party leaflet.

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The fact that a decisive struggle against revisionism was not launched promptly and vigorously calls for self-critical examination by the leadership. The 16th Convention of our Party underestimated the emerging danger of revisionism. But to single out for today as the main ideological task of our Party exposing and combating revisionist ideas and practices would indicate that the revisionist danger is growing while the danger of dogmatism is diminishing in our ranks. Is this actually so?

The ravages of revisionism on our Party - first Lovestone, and then Browder, and more recently Gates have left their mark on our organization. And the most recent experience would surely demand a constant vigilance against the influences of this capitalist-oriented ideology. Furthermore, the influence of revisionism on an international scale would further demand of us a relentless struggle against the "new" refurbished dogmas of Bernstein. Continuing attempts to influence our ranks by those revisionist forces who left the Party are not to be denied nor are the ideological influences of reformist and social-democracy to be overlooked.

Given the history of revisionism in our Party, given the hold of American capitalist ideology on the American workers, given the opportunist practices ("opportunist system" would probably be more accurate) of the dominant section of trade union leadership, it would be folly indeed to underestimate the danger of revisionist-opportunist ideas and practices that my and do seep into the ranks of the Communist Party.

A Communist must not confuse, or equate, opportunist dangers in the labor movement with what may be the ideological danger in the Party at a given time. Our Party history can furnish more than one example where opportunism in the labor movement led to sectarian policies on the part of the left and the Party. Thus, prevailing opportunism in the ranks of the working class does not automatically make opportunism the main danger in the party.

Why, then, not make the struggle against revisionism the main ideological task facing the Party? That it is a major ideological responsibility is obvious,

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—Continued

17.

and that any concrete manifestation of it in and around our movement must be relentlessly exposed is also clear. But if this is to be the main ideological task, then other dangers facing our organization and movement, such as dogmatic-sectarian ones, are less grave and do not call for the same emphasis and all-out attention. Objective and concrete examination of the situation in and around our Party will not support this one-sided presentation of our ideological tasks. It is not so, above all, because the period we are entering is an utterly new period, a new historical stage in the fight for peaceful coexistence and to underestimate either dogmatic tendencies or sectarian practices in our Party would be tantamount to erecting almost insuperable barriers on the main road to disarmament and peace.

\* \* \*

This period above all calls for a creative development of Marxism. The 21st Congress of the CPSU was the best example of this. Other parties, as well, are struggling to enrich Marxist-Leninist theory and to improve its guiding role in the battle for peace, democracy and socialism. Our Party can be proud of its creative application of Marxism to the Negro question in the U.S.A. This theoretical contribution may well mark the beginning of a leap forward by American Marxists in enriching the science of Marxism-Leninism in its application to the U.S.A. At the moment our Party still lags in its theoretical and ideological work and much of it still needs to be tied in with our daily activities.

On the threshold of this new period we shall face the most complex problems of mass work in coalitions and united fronts in order to help establish peaceful competition between the socialist and capitalist worlds. Sectarian practices could rob us of the effectiveness that we must learn to exert in the coming decade of the 60's.

Experiences in mass work in Illinois which cannot be detailed here for reasons of space, point up the danger of sectarian practices which still persist in more than one area of our work. A stubborn struggle against such practices must be initiated and maintained. Are there not clubs and individuals in our State (and undoubtedly nationally) that do exactly what Hyman Lumer warns us against — inflate the Party's independent action into the totality (his emphasis) of its activities.

Are there not loud echoes of this sectarianism that makes "party meetings and the distribution of Party literature become a substitute for the difficult task of working within the mass movement and striving to build united front relationships?" Do we still not find far too many instances where comrades demand ideological unity as a basis for united front activity?

Who, with the sole exception, perhaps, of the dogmatists, will not see how apt this description of the dogmatist and sectarian is? "Dogmatism and sectarianism hinder the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in the changing conditions, replace the study of the concrete situation with merely quoting classics and sticking to books and lead to the isolation of the Party from the masses." And this tendency is still with us though diminishing in influence in our state. To some of our doctrinaires the very science of Marxism-Leninism is distorted and turned into a two-word magic formula, and thus no examination of the concrete is necessary.

The fight against dogmatism and tendencies in that direction will only register victories when, in the light of the Marxist method and guided by Marxist principles, the most thorough, concrete and continuing examination will be made of every major aspect of the American scene and the American class struggle as a basis for a sound program and sound strategy and tactics. The struggle against sectarianism will only record advances when our comrades in the trade unions and the mass organizations grapple with the immediate and concrete needs of the workers and the common people, and with great flexibility and sound judgment help establish united front activities and coalition movements on single issues as a basis for a broadening front on many issues against the giant monopolies and reaction within our country. And within this movement, giving constant attention to the question of how to express the Party's vanguard role in building the unity and political understanding of the working class, and in educating for socialism.

\* \* \*

Thus, the dangers of dogmatism and sectarianism are not to be underestimated. This was the position adopted by the February 1958 National Committee meeting when it declared a two-front struggle. "Moreover", that National Committee statement declared, "this struggle should be waged so as to help overcome the historic weakness of the American Marxist movement, its sectarianism and doctrinarism."

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 2-G—Continued

18.

What has happened since February 1958 that requires a different emphasis than that given then? Has the danger of revisionism grown and that of sectarianism diminished? A two-front struggle with equal emphasis on the dangers of revisionism and dogmatism is every bit as necessary today as it was in 1958.

It is well in this connection to review briefly what the Moscow Declaration of November 1957 had to say on these dangers. All too often only one quote is given as the total approach of the Declaration to these dangers. A study of the document will reveal three distinct and related conclusions expressed. One said, "Disregard of national peculiarities by the proletarian party leads to its divorce from reality . . . and is bound to prejudice the cause of socialism and, conversely, exaggeration of the role of these peculiarities . . . is just as harmful to the socialist cause . . . the participants in the meeting consider that both these tendencies should be combatted simultaneously." (My emphasis.)

A second position was expressed as follows: "The meeting underlines the necessity of resolutely overcoming revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and workers parties."

And a third conclusion stated: "In condemning dogmatism the Communist parties believe that the main danger at present is revisionism or, in other words, right-wing opportunism, which as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralyzes the energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism. However, dogmatism and sectarianism can also be the main danger at different phases of development in one party or another. It is for each Communist party to decide what danger threatens it more at a given moment."

Both the letter and the spirit of the Declaration are violated when one insists that the conclusions on revisionism as the principal danger must apply with equal strength to every Communist party in the world and continue to apply today, two years later, to every Party alike.

\* \* \*

The parties of semi-colonial countries or of countries just recently liberated from colonialism are carrying on profound discussions on the role of the national bourgeoisie in the national liberation movements and revolutions. While not in anyway challenging the continued danger of revisionism there are varying but significant attacks on doctrinaire positions on the role of the national bourgeoisie. Thus, the Iraqi Party has recently stated that it had overestimated its own role and underestimated that of the national bourgeoisie in the Iraqi revolution. The Cuban party declares that in the practical application of Marxism in Cuba, they face "two main dangers" — dogmatic and sectarian mistakes, as well as errors of an opportunist and revisionist character.

Palmiro Togliatti, head of the Italian Communist Party stated earlier this year: "Among the Italian Communists, the plant of revisionism never took hold. We shall continue to prevent its growth today . . . At the same time we shall combat every form of sectarianism."

Dolores Ibarruri, leader of the heroic Communist Party of Spain, wrote recently:

"Hitherto it was difficult to pose the question of united action and agreement with some group of the national bourgeoisie because of their reactionary position. These groups have not ceased to be reactionary. But the pressure to which they are being subjected by the monopolies and their need to defend themselves against this pressure is bringing them closer to the labor movement and democratic forces.

"The Popular Front constituted a most important stage in the Communists' campaign for cooperation with non-proletarian forces in the interests of joint struggle against the threat of war, reaction and fascism. But the Popular Front should not be considered as something static and unchanging as a pattern valid for all time...

"In particular, for Spaniards this form of association between labor and progressive forces against the background of struggle with the Franco regime is inadequate. We need, and we are fighting for a broader unity which would embrace all national forces regardless of their social status and past political activity..."

\* \* \*

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 2-G—Continued

19.

Are not sectarian practices still a major hindrance in the fight against reaction and the fascist danger in our country?

Do we not still find loud voices in our ranks calling for the total damnation of present labor leadership and crying out that this leadership is the main hindrance to any economic or political advance of the American working class?

Are there not significant vestiges of sectarianism in our ranks which may seriously obstruct the mobilization of the American people in the all-out fight for peaceful coexistence and general disarmament?

Who has not heard even in the very recent period in our Party where the Negro question is reduced to a class question and the national liberation movement equated with the liberation of the Negro worker from capitalist exploitation?

Lenin in Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder, observed: "Anarchism was often a sort of punishment for the opportunist sine of the working class movement. Both monstrosities mutually supplemented each other." While the basic objective source of both left-sectarianism and right opportunism is in the capitalist society in which we live, we have had, in addition, sufficient experience since 1957 in the left-wing movement in the U.S.A. to be tempted to paraphrase Lenin's statement to read: "Both monstrosities, that of left sectarianism and right opportunism, have mutually supplemented and fed on each other." In such a concrete situation lessening the fire in any way on "one monstrosity" could lead to great harm to our movement.

The examples from other parties are not cited to justify our Party's position after February 1958. This can only be judged on the basis of whether it correctly reflects the realities in and around our Party. They are given, however, as an argument against the static position taken by the dogmatists.

It needs also to be stated of course, that a great number of Communist and workers' parties, based on their own continuing analysis of their own situation, still adhere to the conclusion that revisionism remains the main danger internationally, as well as to their own parties. But their findings are in all cases determined by the study of their specific situations, and not by mechanical application of generalizations.

\* \* \*

Our position today, I believe, must remain the same as it has been since February 1958 because concrete conditions in and around the Party demand it. Incidentally, it would have been proper and wise, it seems to me, for the N.C., since it recommended a change in this regard in the Draft Resolution to have at least briefly outlined the causes for the earlier position and the reasons for the changed one projected at present.

I further question the formulation as to what is our main ideological task from another angle.

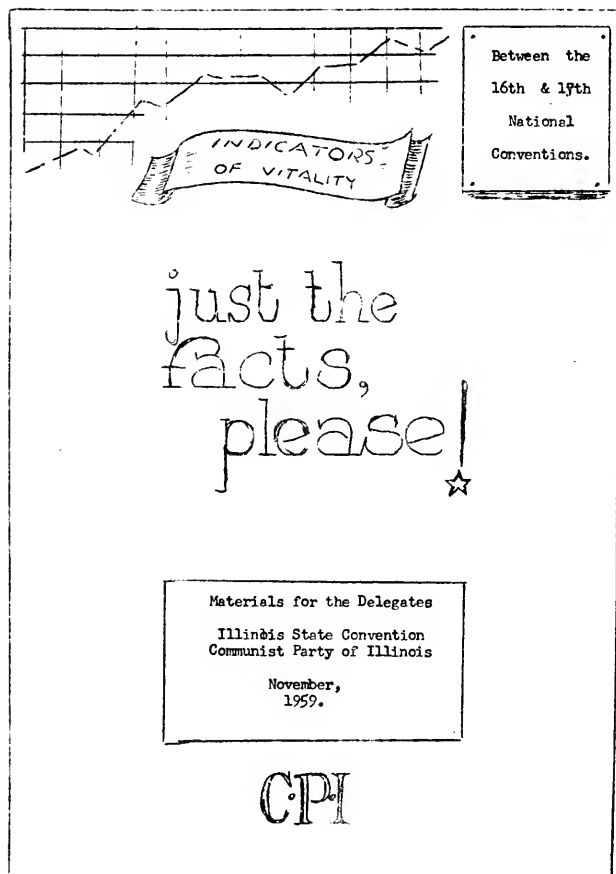
Would it not be sounder to say that our main ideological responsibility should concern itself with the problems and obstacles relating to our mass work, such as the united front and coalition activities, which, of course, would then include the questions of revisionist-opportunism, and dogmatism and sectarianism?

Instead of the formulation in the Draft Political Resolution I recommend this substitution:

"Our mass work and our ideological responsibility demand that the most consistent struggle against revisionist-opportunist tendencies be carried on simultaneously with the most vigorous opposition to dogmatic ideas and sectarian practices."

# # # # #

HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 4



## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

Between the 16th Convention and Nov. 1959MASS INFORMATIONAL-EDUCATIONAL  
MATERIALSissued since the 16th Convention  
in the State of Illinois

<u>I t e m</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
District, Section and Club Leaflets	27	113,500
National Leaflets and Folders	5	25,000
Worker Fliers	6	35,000
<u>Workers</u> Sold and distributed at Shop Gates, Unions, Communities		about 7,000
Mass Pamphlets and Books	26 titles	17,200
		<hr/> 197,600

( The above does not include Worker Subscriptions, which  
 ( average out to above 500 per week for nearly 150 weeks  
 ( since the 16th convention, or a total of over 75,000  
 ( papers. Also not included is National Group Press.

- Sections which issued leaflets and special materials in mass quantities include:- West Side, 9thCD, Albany Park, 13thCD, South Side and Loop.
- West Side & South Side Clubs issued leaflets in their names.
- The Industrial Division issued a number of editions of The Worker Newsletter at major shops and plants (included in Leaflets, above).

The figure for pamphlets and books includes nearly 3,000 Robeson books, handled through the bookstore, and 5,500 other pieces handled outside the bookstore.

In addition to the foregoing, various left-led organizations in Illinois issued over 200,000 pieces of material in the last 2 years.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

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"The Communist Party  
Speaks to the People"

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- MEETINGS

	<u>Approx. No. People</u>
1958 Open Forums (4)	300
1959 Open Forums (5)	800
1958 May Day	200
1959 May Day	250
1958 Worker Anniversary	200
1959 Worker Anniversary	250
40th Anniversary, CPUSA	500
Section, Club Forums, Functions, etc.	700

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3,200

- NON-PARTY MEETINGS

Party speakers were invited to address audiences  
by non-Party organizations, among them:

groups at the University of Illinois,  
churches, settlement houses, Washington  
Park Forums, Peace groups, Washington  
Square Forums, Nationality Organizations,

reaching approximately

10,000

- LEFT & PROGRESSIVE MEETINGS

The Communist Party helped promote, and its members  
attended mass meetings, banquets, cultural events, forums  
and other mass forms sponsored by various left and  
progressive organizations, attended by over 15,000  
people over the last two years:

15,000

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T O T A L, over 28,000

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Between the 16th Convention and Oct. 1st, 1959 -

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

Building the Readership of THE WORKER

Average Weekly  
Worker Circulation      ○

In the Month of  
September, 1959      ○

Section	S u b s c r i p t i o n s			Total Subs	Bundle	Grand Total
	Active	Expired	SubRate			
West Side	84	10	21	123	40	163
Miscellaneous	23	2		25	100	125
South Side	27	5	7	39	55	94(*)
9th CD	49		8	57		57
Leiber	17		36	53		53
Albany Park	42	3	6	51		51
Hyde Park	19	13	16	48		48
South West	32		4	36		36
South East	31		4	35		35
12th CD	16	1	15	31		31
Hansbrough	24		5	29		29
Wagenknecht	11		9	20		20
Joinstone	1		14	15		15
13th CD	9	2	4	15		15
S. Cld.	6		2	8		8
Douglas-Lincoln	27	2	2	31	80	111
Office					50	50
Heslup					45	45
Totals	418	38	152	591	370	966
Special Bundles in Sept. - average per week - -						100

Grand Total, average weekly circulation,  
September, 1959: 1,066

(\*)- South Side figure does not  
include Lincoln-Douglas;  
considered together gives  
a total average weekly cir-  
culation on the South Side  
in September of: 205.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

Here is a page which could be  
brightened up a good deal -

LITERATURE SALES (\*)

for a

Seven Month PeriodJanuary - July, 1959

<u>Section</u>	<u>Total purchase</u>	<u>Monthly average</u>	<u>Monthly Avg. Pol. Affairs</u>
Wagenknecht	\$ 306.22	\$ 43.71	28
Loop	197.00	28.10	23
9th CD	180.00	25.71	22
West Side	143.67	20.52	15
Misc.-DwnSt.	127.40	18.20	15
Lieber	116.95	16.70	18
12th CD	103.25	14.75	16
Hyde Park	98.40	14.05	7
13thCD (2 mos.)	26.30	13.50	6
Alb.Park	58.85	8.40	16
Johnstone	53.95	7.70	10
South Side	44.84	6.40	7
South East	27.15	3.87	3
Hangbrough	19.55	2.78	8
South West	6.85	.97	-1
Forums)			
Classes) --	536.23	76.60	
D.O.Sales)			
 Totals	 \$2,047.21	 \$ 369.06	 186

(\*)-(These figures represent purchases by sections and district )  
(from the bookstore. They do not include bookstore sales to )  
(individuals Party members and to others; nor do these figures )  
(include 5,500 pamphlets purchased by sections directly from )  
(the district. )

Outstanding Club

The Debs Club: whose \$27.20  
monthly average purchase is  
almost 2/3rds of Wagenknecht  
Section's purchase; & which  
surpasses the monthly aver-  
age of all but one section!

HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

Between the 16th and 17th Conventions—

Schools and Classes

f o r

Marxist-Leninist Education - -

○ Over 200 students  
in 1958 - 1959 in

Three district schools

a n d

a number of section classes

including:

a One Week School

○ Two Marxist Social Science

Schools offering 8 classes

of six-week duration

Special Youth Classes

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

To Provide the Sineus of Activity-  
The Bottle for the Wherewithall...

Financial Activity of the Sections

Toward the Common District Endeavor

Section	1 9 5 9 Fund Drive	Org. Fund Jan. Apr. Sep. Oct.	1959 Total to Oct. 23d	1958 Total
Albany Park	\$1,324.10	\$ 925.15	\$ 2,249.25	\$2,751.91
Hyde Park	617.84	276.07	893.91	707.36
Loop	2,344.42	1,108.30	3,452.72	3,801.36
S. Cgo.				195.15
So. East	206.65	140.15	346.80	634.50
So. West	277.50	219.00	496.50	749.07
South Side	284.54	373.10	637.64	410.46
West Side	1,586.58	576.49	2,163.07	3,077.83
9th CD	516.00	332.20	848.20	920.45
12th CD	515.00	305.00	920.00	1,449.48 (*)
13th CD	550.00	30.50 (**)	580.50	(**)
Hansbrough	277.00	1000	278.00	88.98
Johnstone	215.10	37.04	252.14	152.25
Leiber	891.00	427.36	1,318.36	1,310.15
Wagenknecht	777.00	201.75	978.75	869.48
Misc. D.S.	592.97	776.90	1,369.87	1,226.06
Miscellaneous	716.50	1,410.95	2,127.45	)
Meetings, Affairs	731.90	1,834.48	2,566.38	-1,721.59
Dist. Dues %	416.42	662.47	1,078.89	1,489.94
Totals	\$ 12,940.52	\$ 9,637.91	\$ 22,578.43	\$21,585.92

(\*)- In 1958, 12th CD included part of what is now the 13th CD.

(\*\*)-13th CD established in late Spring, 1959.

In 1959,  
Illinois can go from  
12 to 14 %  
above the total 1958 figure,  
provided  
all sections fulfill  
their Org. Fund in  
November and December  
and complete the  
raffle sale.

HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5

PROPOSED  
CONVENTION  
R U L E S

1. Except in cases decided by the Convention, Robert's Rules of Order shall prevail; issues of dispute on Robert's Rules of Order shall be decided by Convention Parliamentarian.
2. Discussion on the Main Resolution shall be ten minutes per speaker; discussion time on other resolutions and other points on agenda shall be determined at the given time.
3. None shall speak twice until all who want to shall have had chance to speak once. Speaking priority shall go to ~~alternate~~ regular delegates.
4. Debate on motions and amendments shall be limited to two speakers for, two speakers against at two minutes each, unless otherwise decided by majority vote of the convention.
5. Voting shall be by show of regular delegate's cards. There shall be no proxy voting, no unit voting.
6. Election of delegates to the national convention shall be by secret ballot.
7. No one shall leave the premises between opening and adjournment of each day's session. Special dispensation to leave must be secured from the Secretary of the Presiding Committee.

(Meals will be provided on premises at a charge of \$1.50 per day.)

HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-A

PROGRAM MATERIALS

(For the 17th National Convention, Communist Party, USA)

Elements of a Basic Party Program

By James S. Allen

Introduction by Preparatory Committee

1. General Principles
2. Peaceful Co-Existence
3. Competition Between the Two Systems
4. The Current Struggle and the Socialist Aim
5. Defense and Extension of Democracy
6. Curbing the Monopoly Power
7. Class and Strategic Alliances
8. Independent Political Action
9. The Problem of Class Collaboration
- \* 10. The Socialist Potential in the U.S.
- \* 11. The Communist Party

\* Sections 10 and 11 which were planned as the concluding sections have not been completed.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-A—Continued

## I. INTRODUCTION BY PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

Systematic work on the preparation of a basic Party program was begun in May, 1958, when the National Executive Committee elected a Draft Program Committee of 20 members. At that time, the NEC approved an "Initial Report on Basic Program," prepared by James S. Allen (who was appointed secretary of the Draft Program Committee), as a "basis for beginning systematic work on program." The Initial Report was approved in the same sense by the Draft Program Committee, as a "basis for beginning systematic work on program." The Initial Report was approved in the same sense by the Draft Program Committee (14 for, 1 against, 2 abstentions, and 3 not participating). The substance of the Report was published in Political Affairs, October, 1958, under the title, "Some Key Elements of Party Program."

Public discussion was opened with the publication in Political Affairs, September, 1958, of "The American Road to Socialism: Program Questions," which had been prepared by the Draft Program Committee. An introduction by the Secretary explained the basic purpose of this document as an effort "to harvest the substantial thinking and knowledge that already exists in Communist and Left circles, and to induce further exploration and thinking along programmatic lines."

Discussions were held in a number of Party organizations, based on the Initial Report and the Program Questions, and a number of communications were received by the Committee. Some of these were published in Political Affairs (November, 1958), and February, 1959). Discussion articles appeared in bulletins authorized by some local Party organizations, without passing through the hands of the Draft Program Committee. A few study groups and individuals submitted materials for the work of the Committee.

After extensive discussion of the views presented by Comrade Alexander Bittelman, the Draft Program Committee adopted a statement on "Democracy and the 'Welfare State'," rejecting his theses as revisionist (with 1 vote against, 2 abstentions, and 1 not participating). The statement was published in Political Affairs, December, 1958.

The Draft Program Committee held ten meetings between May, 1958, and April, 1959, of which three were full meetings (with the participation of out-of-town members) and the rest of only New York area resident members. In June, 1959, it was superseded by a committee of six, appointed by the NEC, and charged with the task of submitting program materials to the 17th National Convention of the CPUSA.

The material herewith submitted under the title "Elements of a Basic Party Program," was drafted by Comrade Allen in partial fulfillment of the principal task set by the earlier Draft Program Committee. There was no opportunity to complete the last two sections of the document: Section 10 on the Socialist Potential of the United States, and Section 11 on the Communist Party, although the essential programmatic position on the Party is given in Section 1.

Discussion on the Negro question has proceeded on the basis of a separate resolution of the Negro Commission; hence no comprehensive statement on the question has been included in the present material. Neither has separate treatment been given here to the farm question, since discussion on this has been organized by the National Farm Commission.

Some sections or elements of the present material have been discussed at various times by members of the Draft Program Committee, and at informal meetings with resident comrades of the NEC. Some written and verbal comments have also been received. However, the document as a whole has not been discussed in any of these bodies, nor has any part of it been submitted for formal action to any Party committee. The National Committee has not had the opportunity to discuss the program question. In preparing this material for submission to the National Convention, the author has taken into account such points raised in the discussions and written comments which appeared to have merit, in his view.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-A—Continued

- 2 -

Accordingly, while the present material does reflect a considerable exchange of opinion, it should be considered primarily a statement or discussion of programmatic positions as submitted by Comrade Allen for consideration by the Party. It is not intended to be final or definitive on his part, nor is it, in any case, an authorized Party statement.

Presentation of this material to the delegates at the National Convention was authorized by the NEC, which set up a committee of three to prepare it for such presentation.

The committee considers the material a serious and substantial contribution to the preparation of a program. It submits it to the Convention for its consideration in deciding on next steps in the drafting of a basic Party program.

## PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

Allen, Aptheker, Jackson

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-B

1 - 1

1. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

World development has confirmed the basic analysis of capitalism and imperialism by Marx and Lenin, and their prediction that the essence of our era is the transition to socialism. Socialist society exists today in countries with one-third the world's population. The soaring progress of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries in Europe and Asia reveals the tremendous potential of socialist society. Socialism has leaped over the age-old barriers to social progress, and released the pent-up creative energy of hundreds of millions who have been oppressed by capitalism and landlordism. It has begun the evolution to a classless society, in which abundance will be freely available to all, equality will be a natural condition of life, and mankind will explore presently unpredictable new frontiers of society and culture.

These achievements with their limitless potentials for progress can be the common possession of all humanity. They need not belong exclusively to any single nation or group of nations. Fortunate are those peoples who have pioneered socialist society, even at great sacrifice and risk in a hostile capitalist world, for they are the masters of their own destiny, and today set the pace of history and shape the future. They revive and fortify confidence in progress everywhere, even in the midst of the stagnation and demoralization of capitalist society. Their successes inspire people in many lands to overcome obstacles and open the path of progress for themselves.

Communists believe that in the United States also socialism will perform wonders, beyond the dreams of most Americans. In a country such as ours--with its great wealth of human skills and material resources, the national ability to translate science into technical advance, a deeply rooted love of democracy and peace, and an historically formed confidence in progress--with these traits of our national history, providing peace can be gained and assured, socialism when established will surely achieve new heights for all mankind.

It is peculiar to our situation that the United States is the most powerful capitalism in the world, in an era in history when socialist achievement arouses enthusiasm and confidence in the future among the vast majority of the people of the earth. It is due to this circumstance, and not to some innate national quality of Americans, that in the present-day world U.S. capitalism upholds the old order of things, symbolizes the past rather than the future, and on a global scene plays the role of modern Toryism. This is a truth not readily accepted by Americans, who have been accustomed to think of their country as the paragon of progress, freedom and peace. Yet, this is the actual position in which the United States has been placed by the course of our own development and by world history.

In the new order of world affairs, with basic shifts in the weight of nations, it need not necessarily follow that the American people become helpless victims of the decay of our social system, while the rest of the world builds a new society, outpaces us, and leaves us behind. The United States is not exempt from the laws of social development and from the social ferment that leads to progress.

This country exemplifies in the extreme the domination of monopoly as the decisive factor of capitalism in its present, imperialist stage. But the system of monopoly capitalism is intrinsically incapable of employing to the full our great productive capacity and our labor, and of realizing the remarkable new potentials of science for the good of the people. The immense aggregates of private economic power, ruling society and government, act as a drag on the nation, retarding its economic and cultural growth, and crippling democracy. Nevertheless, in the period before us the American people have an alternative to stagnation, with its threatening privation, moral corruption, and cultural degeneracy. They can take up the struggle for progress leading to a new democratic and cultural revival, with socialism as the goal. Far from being a threat to the nation, the successes of world socialism and of colonial liberation provide a breathing spell and an opportunity for the American people to set their own country on the road of progress.

Socialism is the aim of the Communist Party of the United States. The superiority of socialism over capitalism as a system of society is historically established. A system based on the social ownership of the means of production and their planned utilization for the material and cultural needs of the whole of society is far superior to the system of capitalism which is founded on private ownership and class exploitation for the enrichment of the few.

Socialism will prove necessary for our country also, because only such a radical transformation of the economic base of society can eradicate the evils resulting from capitalism and can assure the full utilization for the people of the great scientific revolution of our age. Along this path the American people, now overwhelmingly a nation of wage-earners, can assure permanently for themselves and the world an era of peace, democracy, universal well-being and social progress.

The Communist Party bases itself upon the theories of Marx, Lenin and their followers. It seeks to improve its understanding of the living theory of Marxism, as it is enriched constantly by new experiences of the class struggle and social progress everywhere. The Party attempts critically to assimilate this living theory, learn from its own experiences and mistakes, and use the theory constructively and creatively in our own country.

In accordance with its teachings, the Communist Party views itself as a pioneering, vanguard party in the same historical sense that the Abolitionists were the vanguard of Emancipation. In this view, the working class--the vast exploited majority of our society--in the course of striving for a better life must transform itself into the leader of the nation, becoming the driving force for progress and socialism. As part of the class, the Communist Party sees itself as vanguard because it seeks to enhance the class consciousness, the political understanding and the socialist awareness of the workers so that they can in fact become the leaders of the nation. It wants to include among its members the most advanced workers, so that in its daily activities part of the popular movements and in its teachings the Party can express the present and the future interests, the aspirations and historic aims of the working class, in actions and in terms most widely understood.

Marxism, the theory of scientific socialism, is universal; socialist society has a common foundation in all countries. As with all major historical changes, in the United States also the path to the socialist transition and the resulting socialist society will be influenced by world experience, by interaction and interplay among nations, and by the examples and lessons of advanced socialist countries.

Yet, recent history has demonstrated that the specific road taken by each country to socialism is distinctively the product of its own history, as it is shaped by the conditions and movements prevailing in that country. Socialism in this country will therefore have the distinctive features of American development--the product of our own history as it is made by the efforts of the American people to solve the acute problems of our society in its present highly developed stage of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Socialism will be born out of our national striving for progress, with its own distinctive contribution to the future of the world.

In the United States, the actual transition to socialism lies in the future. We still have to pass through an epoch of struggles that will define the path to the transition and its character. Yet, even now, the issue of socialism does present itself in a special way to the American people. Nor is it, as before, only a matter of general principle or perspective, which for the past century always illuminated the path ahead for advanced workers. In these times of new weapons of mutual annihilation, the avoidance of war has become a question of national survival. Competition between capitalist and socialist countries--and especially between the two most powerful, the United States and the Soviet Union--must be actively restricted to peaceful processes if there is to be any progress at all. The first requirement of any policy aimed at growth and progress is the fight for a national policy of peaceful co-existence with the socialist nations.

But an active policy of peaceful co-existence with socialism necessarily implies a recognition and understanding of the principles of socialist society. And the conditions of the world are such that this must be acquired by the American people in the midst of a growing, lively and all-pervading competition between the two world systems.

Accordingly, in the minds of the American people a conflict is taking place between the ideas of capitalism and those of socialism. It touches upon every major aspect of our social life, and calls into question many precepts which were long taken for granted. This constant reappraisal is prodded by the rapid progress of the socialist countries and by the decline of imperialism, with the overturn of long-established colonial hegemonies and the strivings of new nations for social progress, in which the socialist alternative presents itself strongly.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-B—Continued

1 - 3

The competition between socialism and capitalism proceeds amidst a crisis of the monopoly capitalist system itself. In time, from their own experiences, combined with the impact of world events, the American people will come to see that socialism can provide a better way of life than capitalism. They will come to fight for socialism as a national necessity, as the only solution of the crisis of the system.

The Communist Party is therefore indispensable to the present and to the future of America. In its propagation of socialist ideas it presents a confident long-term perspective for the current struggles of the American people, pertinent to our conditions and to the direction in which we must seek a solution. As an integral part of the labor movement, despite the bans and proscriptions presently at work, in closest association with the daily strivings for a better life, incorruptible and indestructible, the Communist Party seeks to assure the future of our country in the struggles of the present day.

The advance toward socialism is an outgrowth of the struggles for peace, democracy and social progress, through whatever stages the struggle may have to pass. In the following sections, an attempt is made to define the Communist understanding of the road to socialism in the United States.

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-C

2 - 1

2. Peaceful Co-Existence

The course of development within the country and recent revolutionary changes in the world have affected the global position of the United States in a fundamental way. Internally, as a consequence of World War II, monopoly greatly extended its power over the economy and in government. Outwardly, into the Western Hemisphere and overseas, U.S. monopoly embarked on the greatest expansionist drive in its history. Within world imperialism itself, as a result of the weakening of other leading capitalist countries by war and by colonial revolutions while the United States expanded economically, the United States became by far the dominant and decisive power.

These developments have placed in bold relief the critical internal contradictions of our own society and the antagonism between U.S. monopoly capital and the rest of the world.

Obscured for a time by relatively high economic activity, the internal contradictions have nevertheless come to the surface. They are seen in the instability of the economy, permanent unemployment, and growing insecurity of job. The contrast between our great capacity to produce and the incapacity of American society to absorb the products of industry has become more pronounced. In the presence of a new scientific revolution, with its unparalleled potential for a better life, our high monopoly economy is showing itself unable to translate new scientific and technical advances into social progress, either at home or abroad.

Over a long period--since the 1890's--the leaders of Big Business have seen economic expansion abroad as the means of overcoming internal difficulties, and at the same time increasing both their rate and volume of profit. The extension of the U.S. monopoly frontiers into other countries by direct capital investment, with the aim of gaining control of raw materials at their source, exploiting low-wage labor, and creating protected markets for surplus capital and products of the U.S. economy, is the very essence of imperialism. To support and encourage monopoly expansion abroad became the core of long-range U.S. foreign policy, despite variations in methods and tactics at different times.

The building of a vast U.S. monopoly empire--first in Latin America and then overseas into Africa, Asia and the Middle East (together with direct extensions of the U.S. corporate structure into Canada and Western Europe)--did not take the usual colonial form, although some colonies and semi-colonial strategic outposts were also acquired. The characteristic form of U.S. imperialist expansion is direct monopoly investment into its own historically established spheres of influence (like the Western Hemisphere) or into the colonial and dependent areas of rival imperialisms. "Free Access" or the "open door" became the earmark of U.S. world policy, sustained particularly in the recent postwar period by super-armament, massive foreign military aid, regional military blocs, and a far-flung network of strategic bases on all continents.

Despite pretensions to democracy and progress, the dominant trend of U.S. Big Business interests is to ally themselves with the most reactionary forces abroad in order to protect their investments and to obstruct and retard democratic revolutions and national development, while at home the consequent increase of monopoly power encourages reaction and undermines democracy. Anti-colonialism is utilized up to a certain point by U.S. monopoly to break into the preserves of rival imperialisms. But when confronted with the revolutionary upsurge against colonialism, especially in the recent period, the United States either itself intervened militarily or, sometimes under cover of neutrality, used its influence and power in an effort to sustain the underlying imperialist relationship when changes in the old colonial structure could no longer be avoided.

Recent fundamental changes in the world have created a crisis for the traditional expansionist policy, with profound repercussions upon the internal life of the country. The freedom of action of imperialism in general and of American imperialism in particular is severely circumscribed by these changes. "Free access" to large areas of the world has been shut off by socialism and it is being cut down by revolutionary nationalism.

The United States has become the leading power of world capitalism when the orbit of capitalism itself is curtailed drastically by the progress of socialism. It has become the mainstay of world imperialism when imperialism itself is disintegrating and is no longer dominant with respect to the greater part of mankind. It seeks to dominate other capitalist countries when capitalism itself is in a new acute phase of general crisis, and each power, having recovered from the war, seeks to save its system from collapse at the expense of other powers. This is the essence of the central contradiction in the world position of U.S. monopoly capitalism in this period.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-C—Continued

2 - 2

The basic question of world politics in our epoch is to prevent an effort to resolve this contradiction by means of a devastating nuclear war. In the Communist view, the danger of war is rooted in the very nature and operation of monopoly and imperialism. The cold war as it developed in the period after World War II is the specific product of the expansionist drive of U.S. monopoly for control of the world. It rests essentially on the actual use or the threat to use overwhelming military and economic power to contain and subvert socialism and the colonial revolutions, while seeking to subordinate to American Big Business all other leading capitalist countries, as well as the new nations striving for industrial and social development. Its motivating force is the drive for maximum profits, which is the very law of monopoly. Progressive social change wherever it may occur is opposed by monopoly as a threat to its privileges, which are grounded in the old social order everywhere.

The cold war policy can lead only to disaster, because it is based on the supposition that imperialism still rules the world as of old, whereas in fact imperialism is no longer dominant in the world. If pursued, the cold war policy can lead to the isolation of the United States. Even worse, it can carry us into a nuclear war in which this country as well as all other belligerents could be devastated by the new weapons of total destruction. The only alternative is a policy of peaceful coexistence among all nations, irrespective of the nature of their social systems and level of national development.

Such a change of course requires a political struggle in the United States for a long-range peace policy based on the realities of the new world structure. Socialism is here to stay in all the countries where it has already been established, and it is a thriving and growing system. The era of colonialism and of other forms of imperialist domination is coming to an end -- in Latin America, as well as in Africa, the Middle East and Asia. The rapid progress of socialism in the Soviet Union, China and the other people's democracies has become the new focus of world development. These are the realities which require, as a matter of national necessity, which is peace, a turn from the cold war to a national policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union, the leading power of the socialist world. Cooperation for peace between the United States and the Soviet Union is the pivot of peace in the present-day world. It can become the determining factor that will bring all countries -- capitalist, socialist and newly developing nations -- within the orbit of a world peace diplomacy.

To replace the cold war policy with a national diplomacy of peaceful coexistence requires an all-sided struggle directed at curbing the power of monopoly at home, forcing it into necessary concessions and adaptations to a policy of negotiations, mutual disarmament, abolition of nuclear weapons, military disengagements, non-intervention in domestic affairs of other nations, and other policies essential to peace. This is a realizable and workable alternative to the cold war in the present world structure.

Communists believe that such a turn is made possible by the conjuncture of world and domestic forces, which raises realistic prospects in the period before us of drastically restricting and frustrating the world expansionism of monopoly. On a global scale, socialist progress and other revolutionary changes within the outmoded imperialist structure, as well as the mounting strength of the labor and democratic movements in many countries, create confidence that the forces of peace are strong enough to prevent aggression leading to war.

Furthermore, the prospect that the socialist countries within a decade will exceed the economic level of the capitalist world, with corresponding social and democratic advances, means that we will be approaching a situation in which it will be possible to eliminate the very danger of war, even while the United States and other countries remain capitalist. Therefore, the possibility exists in the real relation of forces, and in the course of actual world development, of turning aside those drives of reaction and monopoly which generate the war danger. This can be achieved by a parallel or combined struggle of all those within the country who see the necessity for ending the cold war and all world forces that stand for peace.

These promising prospects should not obscure the very real war dangers that still exist in the propensity of die-hard imperialists to obstruct, contain and subvert all progressive social and nationalist movements. Nor can the danger be overlooked that political developments in the United States itself may proceed in the reactionary direction, should dominant monopoly sectors be left free to pursue a fascist course, in response to the internal and world crisis of the system, thus creating new war tensions. Therefore, the struggle by the people for a democratic way out of the growing social crisis in the United States in the period immediately ahead can prove decisive with respect to peace.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-C--Continued

2 - 3

Communists do not view the fight for peace as a tactic or maneuver, aimed at securing exclusive advantages for the socialist world, or any power in it. Nor do they consider it a means of advancing their own party interests in the United States. They consider peace realizable in the present world structure. They do not hide their view that socialism as a system of society is superior to capitalism and that accordingly, as a result of the historical process, socialism will win in the competition of the two systems. With this firm confidence in progress, and with their conviction that the peace forces the world over are strong enough to prevent war, it would be sheer madness for Communists to count on socialism arising from nuclear devastation and death.

In the Communist approach, peace is a basic aim, like social progress and socialism itself. It is mistaken to place the problem as if peace were realizable only through socialism. It is true that socialist society intrinsically generates peace, while capitalism gives birth to the war danger. But in this era of socialist progress and imperialist disintegration, when extended peace-ful coexistence between the systems is possible of achievement and has become a necessity of the very life of nations, the slogan of "peace through socialism" ignores the actuality that makes peace possible in our time.

Nor is the opposite view -- "socialism through peace" -- an accurate reflection of the real situation. Socialism, or social progress in general, does not automatically follow from peace; the fight for peace and the struggle for social progress are inseparable.

Peace and democracy, peace and full employment, peace and social progress -- this is the way Communists see the problem. The cause of peace and the cause of social progress are interwoven in all phases. Full employment in a peace economy is the only kind of full employment worth fighting for. Full employment in a war economy means death. A democratic and cultural revival in the land is inconceivable without the end of the cold war and a constant struggle to assure peace. Greater security of job and of life itself is today the product of economic and democratic struggles of the great masses of people.

If Communists considered the fight for peace merely a tactic, they could have shed it to avoid ostracism and persecution at all levels of community and public life, including prison and loss of jobs, and constant alander as foreign agents and traitors. Because they considered peace fundamental to the security and progress of the American people, during the height of the cold war and the anti-Communist crusade, and despite the bans and expulsions in the trade unions, the Communists constantly opposed the self-defeating foreign policy and its accompaniments of reaction in domestic affairs. Together with other like-minded Americans, they fought for peaceful coexistence for they believed this was the way to uphold the genuine national interests of the United States.

In the past and today, the Communist opposition to the cold war policy of their government arises from real concern for the future of the country. Communists support the peace diplomacy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries not because they are agents of these governments, or because they feel committed in advance to anything socialist states may propose. The fact is that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have followed consistently a policy of peaceful coexistence, as is recognized by many non-Communists as well. Such a policy has become a national necessity for all countries. It is the recognition of this necessity by their own government that American Communists consider the principal task in the field of foreign policy. They support all steps or aspects of policy which move in that direction.

Obviously, the advocates of peace in the United States by far outnumber those who recognize monopoly and imperialism as the source of the war danger. Although Communists expound their own views on the matter, the question of responsibility for the cold war cannot be permitted to stand in the way of a united democratic struggle for peace on the broadest common grounds. The Communists therefore adopt as a tactical orientation the policy of common action and united front with all elements -- no matter of what class or political ideology -- that agree on initial steps to end the cold war and on the necessity of a new long-range national policy of peaceful coexistence.

Together with others in the labor movement, the Communists have opposed the policy of the dominant trade union leadership in support of the cold war and nuclear arms race, as detrimental alike to the interests of labor and of the nation. They will continue to fight in labor's ranks for a policy of peace based on international labor solidarity, total disarmament, curbing monopoly's drive for maximum profits at home and abroad, full employment in a demilitarized peace economy, and recognition of the principles of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations, national independence against imperialism, and co-operation for peace with the socialist countries.

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-D

3 - 1

3. Competition Between the Two Systems

Competition between the two world systems of capitalism and socialism is the earmark of our era. The outcome of this competition determines the course of world history in this period. Communists believe that under the new conditions the inter-system competition can and should be actively kept within peaceful bounds, in the common interest of all humanity and in the national interest of every nation. Furthermore, they believe that there can and should be positive cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries to settle world disputes by negotiations, to achieve total disarmament, and to increase trade and cultural-scientific interchange among them.

Such cooperation can prove to be mutually advantageous. Under conditions of active peaceful coexistence, present-day socialist society can proceed more effectively and more swiftly to create the economic level at which communism can begin to emerge. In a communist society, as Marx said, together with the all-sided development of the individual, the production forces also will grow, and all the sources of social wealth will flow more abundantly. On this basis society will be able to inscribe on its banner: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." All steps to eliminate intervention and hostile pressures from the capitalist world will enhance among the socialist countries themselves the process of cooperation according to the principles of their society. Together, they will develop, more fully and freely, planned proportional development, realized through mutual help and fraternal cooperation in the form of an international socialist division of labor, specialization and coordination of production. Accordingly, they will better be able to realize the proclaimed aim of entering into the higher phase of communist society more or less simultaneously.

Cooperation to assure peace and the extension of trade and cultural-scientific interchange will also serve the best interests of the American people. Under present-day conditions, and in view of the trend of world development, peace is a national interest of the United States, the recognition of which by all sections of the population and all classes has become a matter of national necessity. In addition to this overriding interest, such cooperation leading to total disarmament offers an effective means of relieving the burden of unemployment, taxes and inflation, of developing our science and technology for peaceful rather than destructive purposes, and of reducing the influence in our national life of militarism and other reactionary forces which are nourished by a war psychosis.

Cooperation for peace and related aims develops within the framework of a fundamental competition between capitalist and socialist societies, the basic principles of which are diametrically opposed. Active peaceful co-existence provides the opportunity for the fullest, freest and non-violent working out of this historic competition, in its many aspects and phases. Active peaceful co-existence cannot help but have an important influence upon the national policies of both capitalist and socialist nations, and even upon certain aspects of internal development. But each social system, essentially, will continue to develop in accordance with its objective laws, and each nation, moreover, along the lines of its peculiar historical background and structure.

It would, therefore, be erroneous to consider peaceful competition as paramount to the suspension of social conflicts, to the muting of the class struggle, and to the freezing of world relations. On the contrary, inter-system competition is a dynamic condition, itself the outcome of the conflict of forces at home and on a world scale, and in turn leading to further changes in the world structure. There is no ground for the supposition that competition between the systems implies in any manner the stabilization of capitalism. The status of capitalism is determined essentially by its own contradictions, which operate in the direction of the eventual replacement of capitalism by socialism. The present trend of world development leads to deeper contradictions within the capitalist system and toward a still more acute phase of the general crisis of the system.

At the present time in the United States, there is beginning to take shape two principal and opposing views with respect to the competition of systems. On the one side, there are powerful monopoly and reactionary forces which present competition from the socialist world as a threat to the United States, and attempt to use this alleged threat as a pretense for an all-round attack upon the living standards, democratic liberties and peaceful aspirations of the great majority of the American people. These forces would continue the cold war, and to that end they obstruct and oppose all steps towards a national policy of peaceful co-existence. On the other side, there is the view that competition between the systems should be turned to the advantage of the American people for the purpose of gaining new ground to improve the conditions of the people, preserve democracy and further the cause of peace. Communists share this view.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-D--Continued

3 - 2

As much as the Communist Party would like to see the United States come out the victor in the peaceful competition of systems, this cannot be realized as long as the United States remains capitalist. Due to the economic lead held by the United States, it will be able to remain ahead of the Soviet Union, the leading socialist nation, for some years. In the longer run, however -- and this may well be within a decade or so -- a capitalist United States will lose the competition, as the USSR emerges as the leading world economic power, with the highest level of the economy and with the greater production per person, resulting in higher standards of living, culture, education, science, and of the individual's personal security and freedom. This is because socialism is proving itself able to exceed the American rate of economic growth by three or four times, to make much more rational use of its production and of science, and to plan its development along balanced lines.

But the mere fact that in the long run capitalism will lose the competition with socialism, and is already beginning to lose it in some essential respects, does not mean that the road to progress is closed for the United States. In truth, if monopoly is permitted by the American people to exploit the competition of systems for its own exclusive narrow interests not only will the conditions of life in the country deteriorate in every respect, but peace itself will be endangered. Thus the very possibility of keeping inter-system competition within peaceful bounds depends, to a decisive degree, upon the regeneration of those forces of democracy and progress in the United States that can limit and impede the free play of monopoly in our economy and in government. The present world structure, and the direction of world events, are favorable to such a revival.

Communists take the view that the wide gap in the rates of growth as between capitalism and socialism can be narrowed, to the benefit of the American people and to world peace, as the result of the regeneration of the democratic mass movement. Monopoly capital creates its own obstacles to economic growth, which are built into the system, and moreover, mere economic growth under capitalism is not necessarily translated into social progress, as under socialism. To counter-act the retarding influence of monopoly and to assure benefits to the people from new economic advances, an all-round struggle against monopoly is necessary to curb its power in the economy and in government, to impede the drive for maximum profits, and to obtain the maximum economic growth possible under present-day capitalism. This means a struggle of all our democratic forces, and especially labor, for a full-employment peace economy, for defense and extension of democracy, and for structural reforms that will limit the power of monopoly and increase the power of the popular forces to intervene in the direction of the economy and of government.

In our society, an accelerated rate of growth can be achieved only in spite of monopoly and in the fight against it. When big business can operate at a profit at less than half capacity, and when it can gather in an increasing share of the surplus produced in the entire economy, monopoly has no incentive to raise the tempo of industrial growth. If the economy lags at a stagnant level, using only a part of existing capacity, this is not due to faulty economic policies; it arises from the very nature of monopoly capitalism. If the economy is to approach a condition of full production and full employment under conditions of peace, there will have to be much more radical interference with the prerogatives and privileges of monopoly than most reform programs envision. Monopoly will have to be fought, counter-acted, its mode of control and operation severely restricted -- all of which can result only from great struggles of the people.

American monopoly attempts to meet the competition of world socialism at the expense of the American people. Communists believe, and attempt to convince everyone concerned, that the American labor and democratic movement must come to understand the relation between the frustration of imperialism in the world and the curbing of monopoly at home, if they are going to overcome the stagnation and decay arising from monopoly, and thus open the road to the rapid growth of which our country is capable.

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-E

4 - 1

4. The Current Struggle and the Socialist Aim

Communists have always held, and believe today, that the decisive question of the struggle for socialism is the transfer of state power to the working class and its allies. This has taken place in different ways, according to the specific circumstances of the country and the times. The Soviet form of the dictatorship of the proletariat was the product of the revolutionary struggle against tsarism and capitalism in Russia. After World War II, the working class and its allies came to power in Eastern Europe and then in China and other Asian lands as the result of a struggle and under conditions radically different from those of the Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. The states of people's democracy which came into existence took on the function of the proletarian dictatorship and fulfill that role today.

In the present period, in the new world relation of forces, many new variations may emerge along the road to the transfer of power to the working class and its allies, as well as in the ensuing form of proletarian rule. Already early in the postwar period, the U.S. Communist Party -- as well as the British, French, Italian and others -- saw in the new world situation then emerging the possibilities of a peaceful democratic struggle for socialism. With the further growth of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, the XXth Congress (1956) and the 12-Party declaration (1957) expressed prevailing world Communist opinion when they emphasized the prospects for a great multiplicity of forms, including the possibility in a number of countries of a parliamentary transition to socialism, without civil war.

These new prospects of advance to socialism are inseparable from the struggle to prevent another global war. In connection with the Seven-Year Plan of the Soviet Union, the XXIst Congress (1959) raised the bold prospect of not only preventing war in the period ahead but, going beyond this, the elimination of the war danger, even while part of the world remains capitalist. The very struggle by the peace forces the world over to realize such possibilities stimulates social progress; further successes in the fight for peace would greatly favor the forces of democracy and socialism.

As countries recently freed from colonialism or fighting its remnants take the socialist path many new features will be revealed. Certainly, still other new features will be displayed as countries of highly developed capitalism and a democratic political structure advance toward socialism.

Whatever new features and forms appear, the only new stage of society possible in the United States is socialism. The recent history of American capitalism fully demonstrates Lenin's basic conclusion that imperialism or monopoly capitalism is a stage of capitalism, the highest or last stage. Monopoly is not a super-structure built upon free-competition capitalism; it is the very structure of present-day capitalism in the United States, although still retaining many elements of the earlier free-competition stage. Monopoly grew out of free competition, increasingly replaced and subordinated it, and transformed the structure of the economy. It is therefore impossible to go back to a free-competition, non-monopoly stage of capitalism by removing monopoly from capitalism. The "removal" of monopoly can result only in the next stage of society, socialism.

The highest level of productive forces possible under capitalism is reached in its monopoly stage, and the United States demonstrates the very high level to which they can be developed. But by the same process, the concentration of monopoly power is also pushed to the extreme, thereby building up the actual and potential tendency of monopoly to restrict the development of the productive forces. Thus is accentuated in a particularly marked form the basic contradiction between the ever growing potential of the forces of production and the restrictive role of the capitalist relations of production. This contradiction can be resolved decisively only by freeing the productive forces from monopoly capital, so that they can be utilized fully for human betterment and social progress. And this must of necessity entail a fundamental social transformation which abolishes the capitalist relations of production, founded on private ownership of the basic economy and on the exploitation of labor, and establishes socialist relations of production, based on public ownership and the abolition of class exploitation.

Accordingly, there can arise no intermediate stage of American society in between present-day capitalism and socialism. Therefore, the new forms and features that may arise on the road to working-class rule in this country would not be associated with some new intermediate form of society, as seen by reformism

or revisionism--such as a crisis-free and monopoly-free "new capitalism" in the form of a perfected "Welfare State," or some mixed society which is neither capitalist nor socialist.

However, the Marxist view that intermediate stages of society are impossible in the United States establishes only the long-range perspective. Marxists must recognize the need for stages or levels in the development of the mass movement during the entire period before socialism which are related to the concrete economic, social and political issues for which the people fight in present-day society. They should also fully appreciate the role of actual and developing struggles for social and structural reform by the working class and the popular forces as they seek to secure peace, defend and extend democracy, achieve Negro freedom and safeguard living conditions.

Accordingly, a distinction must be made between the immediate program, which pertains to the entire period of struggle against monopoly, and the long-range program, which relates to the future transition to socialism. No wall exists between the two, either in theory or in life. A definite relationship exists not only in time (immediate and long-range), but integrally. The way in which the struggle against monopoly proceeds, the role of the working class and its success in forging and leading strategic alliances, the political form in which the anti-monopoly coalition or united front against monopoly is expressed--all this affects the particular approach toward working-class rule as well as the manner and the shape of the socialist solution. The way in which this country embraces socialism will be decided not only by the particular social crisis in the future from which socialism will emerge and by the world situation at the time, but also, and perhaps decisively, by the progress of the struggle for peace and democracy, and the political form this assumes, in the period now before us.

The central objective of the immediate program of the Communists is related both to the immediate struggles and to the long-range goal. It arises from an outstanding characteristic of the American development. This is the historic lag in the class, political and socialist consciousness of the working class as compared with the very high level of material readiness of the country for socialism (the high productivity of the economy combined with the complex social integration of labor). The overcoming of this lag is a process, and it would be entirely schematic to see it as a series of stages culminating in the final stage of socialist awareness. The level of maturity of the working class is a product of diverse factors acting simultaneously: changes in the objective situation at home and in the world, the initiative of monopoly, the struggles of the workers and popular forces against offensives of reaction, the influence upon them of socialist progress and national liberation in the world, the strength and the capacity for leadership of the working class party. The unity of the working class and its emergence as an independent force are achieved in struggle, in the course of which the workers get rid of various illusions about capitalism, overcome opportunism in the labor movement, mature their political vanguard party, and move into leadership of the entire nation. But this cannot take place all at once. It is more or less a lengthy process, and is necessarily closely linked with the tasks and issues of the period.

The tasks and issues of the present period revolve around the questions of peace, democracy, Negro rights and economic security, with peace as central to all others. These tasks are democratic in content because the struggle for their realization involves as a common denominator the defense and extension of democracy and can result in significant social progress under present-day conditions. Such advances can be made, providing the working class leads the struggle, joining in action and alliance with the Negro people, the mass of farmers, and the urban middle strata. In the Communist view, the interaction and merging of such struggles move in the direction of a united front against monopoly, which is the main barrier to peace and social progress, and the prime source of reaction and the war danger. Such a united front is necessary, for monopoly can and will be curbed and its strength undermined only if it is confronted with a powerful united front movement deeply rooted in the working class, which is the leading social force. Such a democratic united front against monopoly, the Communists believe, would have to act politically, and it needs a party new in substance, independent of monopoly. Such a people's party, embodying the leading role of labor and giving political expression and direction to the common anti-monopoly struggle, would strive to win political power and move toward a people's government. Such is the comprehensive objective of the immediate program of the Communists, corresponding to the democratic tasks of the period.

The objective of an anti-monopoly people's government certainly sums up the fundamental movement for peace, democracy and social advance in the period ahead. Its achievement would amount to a radical shift in class relations favorable to the working people and to the realization of their democratic and economic aims. At the same time, it could open the way to the basic shift of state power to the working class, as leader of the nation, and to the establishment of socialist society.

In the scientific Marxist sense, the ultimate strategic aim of the working class is historically determined by the inevitability of socialism and by the role of the working class in its achievement. New features and forms will no doubt arise in the course of the hard struggle against monopoly, and may be of utmost importance in determining the manner and shape of the basic transfer of political power. However, the substance of such a change is that the working class in the end must emerge as leader of the nation -- that is, it must become the ruling class in order to establish socialism. At one or another phase of social advance and in such forms as will be created by the struggle itself, the working class will be faced with the necessity of leading the nation in the establishment of a socialist government in order to defend and consolidate the people's gains. Thus, the advance toward a people's anti-monopoly government and the socialist goal are interlinked in their development, just as the democratic tasks, broadened and extended with the progress of the struggle, flow into the socialist tasks.

Seen in this historic perspective, the process of anti-monopoly struggle in the period ahead and the forms of alliance and political action produced by it, including the advance toward a people's government, prepare the way for the basic shift in class relations which will permit the working class, together with its allies, to solve permanently the general crisis of capitalism. In relation to this long-range objective, the struggle to curb the monopoly power and the demands raised with respect to this immediate aim are of a transitional character. They are transitional because the curbing of monopoly to be effective and lasting must lead to the elimination of monopoly. As experience has shown, even significant social reforms and advances cannot be considered as permanent gains as long as monopoly retains its power. Such gains under certain circumstances may even serve to safeguard the outmoded social system against more fundamental change. Even if monopoly is momentarily restrained politically, it seeks to regain whatever economic positions it may have lost and full political power at the expense of democracy and peace. Therefore, in the end monopoly will have to be removed from both its economic and political positions, thus opening the way to some form of working class rule and the socialist transformation of society.

Such an approach to the relation between the anti-monopoly struggle and the socialist aim is basic to the position of the Communist Party, as the party of socialism, as the party which stands for the fundamental transformation of society. It provides the perspective for a successful struggle against monopoly under present-day conditions, as distinguished from the old middle class dream of a return to free competition or the reformist Utopia of collaboration with monopoly to remake capitalism, both of which must end in futility.

In the period before us, the democratic transitional demands are uppermost and decisive, and the struggle for them can lead to significant social advance. In this period, the fundamental task of the working class is to build the democratic united front against monopoly, that will fight for peaceful coexistence and will oppose U.S. imperialist intervention abroad, apply and defend the Bill of Rights in all its aspects, strengthen and enrich the representative institutions within the Constitutional system, put an end to Jim Crow, restore and strengthen full trade union rights. Such a democratic front, sparked by the labor movement, would fight for full employment in a peace economy, defend the positions of the small and medium farmers and urban middle classes, and seek the extension of social legislation in all fields. It would seek basic structural reform aimed at completing the democratic revolution in the South and at subjecting large private industrial and financial monopolies to the democratic controls of the people. It would have to rely upon the large mass organizations of labor, the Negro people, the farmers, the youth and all working people, and must win the allegiance of all middle sectors by defending their interests against monopoly. It will have to be a movement around which working men and women, all the underprivileged and victims of discrimination can rally with confidence.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-E—Continued

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Certainly, the possibility for a dynamic democratic revival and for progressive changes can be realized by such a united front of the popular forces. Such democratic struggles for social and political reform will mature the class forces and alliances capable of defending the people's gains and of carrying the movement forward.

Communists seek to participate in all struggles, united actions, and coalitions which seek to curb the monopoly power. Broad sectors of the people, including labor, may for some time retain faith in capitalism as a system, from which they divorce monopoly, although they correctly see it as the main enemy. As labor begins to lead the united struggle against monopoly, joining forces with the Negro people, farmers and urban middle strata, the forces and alliances are built that in their development tend politically to isolate monopoly from the nation. This development can create a new relation of class forces in which the working class emerges in its independent and leading role.

The Communists seek to place the democratic demands for curbing monopoly in such a fashion, and fight for them in such a way, as will advance the unity of the workers and their leading role in the united front against monopoly. This is the prerequisite for a successful struggle for the immediate common program of peace, democracy and economic security.

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-F

5 - 1

5. Defense and Extension of Democracy

The Communist Party advocates a democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the American people within the developing and revitalized constitutional process.

Capitalism cannot be reformed into socialism, the transition from one to the other being a social revolution -- that is, a basic change from capitalist to socialist relations of production. The Communist Party fights for conditions that will lead to a peaceful transition to socialism because this is the preferable and the least painful method of basic social transformation, and because it believes that a peaceful road to socialism can be opened by the struggles of the people under the new conditions that have emerged in the world.

The possibility of realizing such a road to socialism depends upon a complex of inter-related factors, domestic and international. The most important, at this time, in creating the conditions for peaceful transition is the struggle for the defense and extension of democracy. Communists see this as the crucial theme of the period before us. The progress of this struggle affects most immediately and directly the prospects for peace and for economic well-being, and it can be the basic factor in establishing and defending the conditions for a peaceful transition to socialism in the future.

The reactionary tendencies which have come forward in the United States since the end of World War II are a warning that once again powerful monopoly circles seek a fascist-type solution. The Cold War has led to the rapid militarization of the state, marked by an almost total fusion of very top monopoly with government administration and of high military circles with the big corporations. An almost imperceptible change in the inner functioning of the state is occurring, expressed principally in the mushrooming of power in the executive branch, where peak monopoly is firmly entrenched, and moreover with ever mounting secrecy on government operation under pretext of "defense." In this protected domain, there is a proliferation of new groups and agencies which are subject to very little congressional control and more and more take over the governing of the country. Far from challenging this wholesale usurpation of its powers, particularly in the crucial decisions affecting war or peace, Congress itself launched assaults upon the democratic liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. This trend, sustained by continuing concentration of monopoly power in the economy and in government, threatens by the gradual process of undermining and encroachment to deprive the representative institutions and the Constitutional process itself of any real democratic content.

Defense of bourgeois democracy is itself becoming the issue leading to great social and political struggles. Democratic legality is under attack from the Right -- sometimes hidden, sometimes open -- and this attack has to be repulsed and the trend toward a fascist-type state has to be blocked if the democratic road to social progress is to be kept open in the United States.

Thus, it is incorrect to view the fight for democracy merely as a tactic, and this was never the Marxist view. It is true that democracy is limited under capitalism, because bourgeois democracy is based on class exploitation which severely restricts the democratic rights of the workers, the Negro people, and other unpropertied or oppressed groups. It is also true that the complete and manifold realization of democracy can come only with the abolition of class exploitation and the establishment of real majority rule under socialism, while universal equality will be established only when all classes disappear under communism, the higher stage of socialism. But this does not mean that Communists have a negative or neutral view with respect to democracy or the form of state under capitalism. Our form of bourgeois democracy and of republican government has provided a particularly free and wide basis for the class struggle, in the course of which the people have been able to win significant social gains against the resistance of entrenched wealth and reaction. Monopoly domination of the state now threatens to choke off these freer forms of struggle, by replacing the democratic content of the system with an authoritarian content, while retaining only the outward shell of the democratic institutions. Communists consider the struggle against this entire reactionary trend and the need for the revival and extension of democracy, as an integral part of their immediate program for peace and better living conditions, as well as for socialism in the United States.

The struggle for the democratic way is a multi-class question, requiring an all-sided, vigorous opposition to the authoritarian trend. Labor is thrust into the very heart of the struggle by the monopoly attack upon its rights and condi-

tions, while the Negro people in their battle for rights granted by the Constitution impart a powerful stimulus to the fight for democracy in general. The leading social forces in the fight to preserve and broaden the democratic road are the working class, the working farmers, and the Negro people -- their tendency is to fight for democracy without limit because they need it to obtain economic security and freedom. But as the monopoly power grows it seeks to convert the state more and more into its own exclusive domain, from an organ of the bourgeoisie as a whole into a total monopoly state. The farmers, the urban middle strata and other non-monopoly sectors of the capitalist class, are thus shut off increasingly from significant participation in government, and with an effective united front struggle by labor many of these sectors will also fight for democratic advances.

In the Communist view, the fight to preserve and enrich the democratic way in the present society has a direct bearing upon the form and functioning of the socialist state that will follow. It is irrelevant to take as a model for socialist democracy in the United States the experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union during its first decades, when surrounded by a hostile capitalist world it had to industrialize from a very low economic level or die. The United States will go socialist under different conditions. The remarkable progress made by the USSR, despite the unfavorable circumstances demonstrates the strength and vitality of socialism. But the advances to be made by the Soviet Union in the decade ahead, when its material conditions and standard of living will approach and then exceed those now prevailing in the United States, will provide a more comparable situation. Certainly, the full flowering of socialist democracy upon a high economic level should indicate more directly the real potential of socialism in the United States as well.

Whether this country, which has been so unusually well favored by historical circumstances over a long period, will be as fortunate in the future, depends essentially upon the ability of the working people, the great mass of the nation, to preserve and carry forward our rich democratic tradition, giving it a new revolutionary content and perspective.

In the past, Marxists thought that the forms of the bourgeois state and of bourgeois democracy would have to be discarded by a socialist state. But recent experience has shown that many of these forms, with appropriate structural change, can be taken over by the socialist state, and imbued with a new class content. It is therefore entirely possible that the American Constitution and the governmental system based on it, if these are preserved, improved, and enriched with greater democratic content by the struggles of the people, will provide the form of the American socialist state, once power has passed into the hands of the working class and its allies. In fact, the separation of powers and the Federal structure, once they are made completely responsive to the popular will, may be very well suited to the needs of majority rule, direct democracy, and encouragement of popular initiative, side by side with Federal planning under socialism. The checks and balances provided by our Constitutional form and Federal-state relationship, thoroughly democratized by socialism, may provide an effective means of preventing bureaucratic abuses and overcentralization of powers.

In the period ahead, the fight for democracy can well lead to important structural reforms in the governmental system. Originally, the triangular system of checks and balances was devised primarily to prevent the capture of government by popular majorities. As a rule, the system worked, except in times of crisis and popular upheaval when a combination of the President and a popular Congress registered important democratic and social advances -- as in the years of Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, and also for a brief time at the beginning of the second New Deal of F. D. Roosevelt. At certain times the Supreme Court, at other Congress, and sometimes the President played the major role in stemming the popular tide. As a day-to-day tactic the popular forces must perforce oppose the policies of one or another of the three branches, depending upon which at the time is obstructing progress. But a more fundamental perspective is required if labor and the people are to revive the democratic content of the Constitutional form and make it serve their needs.

Certain structural reforms in the governmental system which have been proposed before are still valid, such as the popular election of all judges, elimination of the electoral college in favor of the direct election of the President, and possibly the abolition of the Senate or at best depriving this presently unrepresentative body of the power of veto over the House. Other measures which would strengthen the democratic procedures include proportional representation, the referendum and the power of recall, reform of the committee and seniority system and democratization of the rules in both Houses. In the Federal relationship, the States should be deprived of the power to nullify national social leg-

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-F—Continued

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relation and Constitutional rights (such as desegregation of the schools, the right to vote, social security, rights of labor to organize), and the powers of the Federal government should be enlarged to establish minimum national requirements in such fields. These and other much-needed structural political reforms, however, can be brought about only by a resurgent popular democratic movement.

The main orientation of labor, the Negro people and all people's forces should be upon revitalizing and strengthening the representative legislative bodies -- Federal, State, and local -- as the most direct channel for popular pressure upon the other two branches of government and as the means of obtaining the maximum popular rule possible under the present system. In the present Constitutional framework, the Legislature can be made to serve as the people's "check and balance" against monopoly, which is most deeply entrenched in the greatly extended Executive branch, and to open the way for placing the government administration, as well as the Judiciary, beyond the control and grasp of the monopoly oligarchy. Congress -- and the State and local representative bodies -- must be transformed into really popular institutions, lest monopoly and reaction destroy their democratic potential, leaving them a withered shell, while the people lose confidence in democratic government because it fails to satisfy their demands and needs, thus providing the soil upon which fascist movements can thrive. This is the course of political struggle for the pressing needs of the people, for the safeguarding of their gains and of peace, which will keep the democratic way open for social progress. The mass movement needs democracy to extend broadly the social legislation and labor gains already won and to gain new social reforms.

A decisive basic social reform which can impart a powerful stimulus to progress is the completion of the democratic revolution in the South. Notwithstanding an entire period of capitalist development in this region, and the migration of millions of Negro toilers from the land to the cities North and South, the democratic tasks which the Civil War and Reconstruction left unfinished imperatively demand solution today. The remnants of slavery -- the plantation, segregation, and racism -- still provide the principal source for Dixiecrat reaction which, allied politically and otherwise with monopoly, has kept the South a backward region, opposed and obstructed all steps toward Negro freedom, and barred advanced legislation and action nationally.

A general democratic transformation of the South will restore full civil rights and liberties for all, establish representative government throughout the political structure -- from the community to the Federal regime -- and enforce desegregation in the schools and in all other public institutions, housing and services. Revolutionary in content is the struggle for the Negro right to vote and for full representation and participation in government because it means a radical change in the political structure of the South, which will have progressive impact throughout the nation. Integral to such a change is a basic agrarian reform that will eradicate the last remnants of the plantation-sharecropping system and its offshoots into the rest of Southern economy, and radically change the class relations on the countryside where parasitic landlords still keep large Negro majorities in a form of semi-feudal dependence. The rapid growth during recent years of the Negro working class as part of the U.S. working class as a whole provides a new and solid base for carrying through the democratic revolution in the South.

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-G

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6. Curbing the Monopoly Power

Reforms that would curb the economic as well as the political power of monopoly were sought by all the popular anti-trust movements of the past, which were largely under radical farm and middle-class leadership. The old trust-busting program, beginning with the Populist revolts, sought to halt or reverse the rise of monopoly from free competition. The New Deal reforms of the 1930's recognized that monopoly was here to stay but sought, by government regulation, to prevent abuse of economic power. Both series of reforms were absorbed by monopoly capitalism and turned to its own advantage. The anti-trust laws, in fact, operated in such a way as to sustain the giant corporation as the distinctive form of American industrial and financial monopoly, rather than the cartel-type combination characteristic of other countries. The regulatory measures became functions of state monopoly capitalism -- the means by which the corporations regulated themselves through state administrative agencies, also facilitating the merger of government and corporate personnel. Both series of reforms had the effect of stemming the popular anti-monopoly movements of the time, and diverting them from attempts at more fundamental structural reforms -- like nationalization of the railroads in the earlier period and nationalization of the banks in the New Deal era.

In the present period, when labor's needs and demands impart a decisive content and direction to the anti-monopoly movement, a common program for curbing monopoly power must rest on different principles. These are determined primarily by the fact that under present-day conditions the technological revolution, on top of the intrinsic instability of the economy, is creating a new layer of permanent unemployed as the typical form of impoverishment in a high-level monopoly society, with serious threats to the conditions of all workers. Thus is shown that big investments in new technology, expanded production and a higher national income do not in themselves lead to progress. In order to have social progress, these have to be translated into the elimination of unemployment and poverty, and into the great improvement in mass living conditions made possible by the new techniques of production in agriculture and industry.

Technical progress and greater productivity are utilized by monopoly to realize maximum profits through more concentration, decreasing the number of workers in production, intensified speed-up, undermining the conditions and status of the workers, and weakening the unions. Labor is not opposed to new technology and greater productivity, for these are essential to progress, but it is opposed to technical progress at the expense of the workers. Only the class struggle can transform technical progress into social progress. Under present conditions, the struggle for full employment in a peace economy becomes the dynamic force of economic and democratic progress. It was only under special circumstances -- as during war, post-war boom and extraordinary military spending in peacetime -- that capitalism was able to provide anything approximating a condition of full employment.

To achieve a condition of full employment without war or the threat of war should be the aim of all economic and democratic struggles against monopoly.

Advances in this direction entail more radical interference with the operations of monopoly than is involved in remedial social legislation, although this too has to be fought for constantly, and if pressed to the full can also lead to basic changes. Actually, all struggles for economic and democratic advance must collide with and set up obstacles to the drive of monopoly for maximum profit, which in our society has the force of the central law determining the very existence and operations of monopoly. The struggles of the working people and the strength of the labor movement have prevented the unhampered sway of this law from driving living standards down to subsistence levels for large sections of the people. The further strengthening of the trade unions and the development of the people's struggles on a broad front can save large numbers of workers from permanent unemployment and obtain better living conditions. If the inherent tendency of monopoly to permanent unemployment, economic crises, authoritarian rule and aggressive expansionism is to be impeded, the economic and democratic struggles of the workers and all people's forces must seek to curb monopoly by encroaching on its powers, weakening and undermining its economic and political positions, and move in the direction of its elimination.

A labor and people's anti-monopoly program should seek to curb monopoly principally and simultaneously along three lines. (1) It must seek to force greater concessions from monopoly through the state in the form of remedial legislation and social welfare, hand in hand with fringe benefits won by contract negotiations. (2) It should aim at blocking and impeding the free play of monopoly competition,

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rather than restoring the old form of free competition, as was the case with earlier programs. (3) It must recognize that government economic activities are a permanent feature of present-day capitalism which the mass movement must attempt to utilize for the purpose of wresting more basic concessions from monopoly, including structural reform in the corporate-state system that will weaken the positions of monopoly in the economy and in government.

## I.

Labor has always fought for a greater share of the social product at the expense of profits through the shorter work week and higher wages. A new advance along these lines is made imperative by productivity unemployment and increasing job insecurity as a result of the new technical revolution and the instability of the economy. At the same time, labor and the progressives have always fought for fringe benefits and social legislation that would offset the social evils arising from capitalism. Every major advance on this front has been achieved only as the result of great mass struggles. Today, also, demands such as the shorter work week, compensation for the full period of unemployment and an extensive public works program, if they are to be won require great mass struggles. Because of the enormity of the problem of economic security in present-day capitalism, legislative action must reach into a broad field -- basic tax reform in favor of the people, higher minimum-wage and other pro-labor laws, enlargement of the social security system, all-sided and enforceable anti-discrimination provisions, establishment of a public health system, greatly increased public housing for low-income families, adequate youth and education facilities, and other necessary welfare measures. The fight for this kind of reform has been traditional with the labor movement for many decades. But in the recent period, after the legislative victories of the New Deal era, labor has concerned itself with winning new social benefits largely through contract negotiations, which affect only the organized workers and leave the majority without these benefits. New conditions require that in addition to defending existing labor legislation and besides the struggle for fringe benefits, the labor unions assume energetic leadership in the fight for broader social legislation as well.

While supporting every possible social welfare measure and every improvement in the conditions of the workers that can be obtained, Marxists believe that these cannot be considered as the final aim of the working class movement. Generally, such reforms deal only with the symptoms and the evils of capitalism and fail to challenge the basic causes of unemployment and inequality. The broad masses fight for such reforms in the hope that they will lead to country to general conditions of democracy and economic equality. While it is true that victories won by such struggles can lead to an era of progressive reform, and to real improvements, they do not add up to a new social order. Social and remedial legislation, although legitimate aims of the working class movement, do not alter the ownership of the means of production nor do they affect the sources of income, even if concessions may involve something of a redistribution of income. Such reforms, accordingly, cannot be considered steps to socialism, which involves a basic transformation of society. Nor can they be viewed as creating a "welfare state" devoted to social well-being capable of overcoming crises and inequality.

The myth of the welfare state in the era of monopoly and imperialism arose from the need of the modern state in all advanced capitalist countries to extend the field of social legislation under pressure from mass movements, and in view of the successes of the socialist world, in order to preserve the system in the midst of general crisis. The so-called welfare state is still a monopoly state, and it functions to preserve monopoly capitalism. The social benefits it was forced to concede have become as necessary to its continuation as the other economic activities characteristic of the modern state. Even when monopoly is forced to grant social benefits against its will, it tries to delay them as long as possible, to keep them to the minimum, to pare them down later, and to make the workers pay for them through taxes and other charges against wages, so that a constant struggle is required even to retain concessions that have been won and to reduce the wage-earners' share of the cost. While granting benefits sparingly and grudgingly, monopoly and its supporters try to turn the necessity of making concessions into a virtue by claiming that capitalism has become a welfare society. They exploit what was forced upon them by the mass movement in the first place in order to divert that movement from more fundamental demands. There are also other reasons why the modern state needs certain social legislation, such as minimum sanitation, health and educational standards to assure efficient labor. And at times monopoly will prefer state social benefits rather than wage increases or fringe benefits because they need not come out of profits. But the main significance of welfare benefits to the monopoly state is that they serve as insurance against basic social change.

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Social benefits are a form of ransom which monopoly must pay to maintain its power, but the difficulties of the system, the strength of the modern labor unions and the ever new successes of the socialist world tend to increase the magnitude of the ransom. And the trade unions -- because by nature they can do no more than fight the symptoms, while seeking a more favorable share for wages out of the surplus produced by labor -- must continue to press for an extension of the welfare functions of the monopoly state. This characterizes the present course of the anti-monopoly movement. Communists participate in and support all economic and democratic struggles aimed at enlarging the area of social benefits. But even at a high level, this movement can end in frustration and its victories can be absorbed by monopoly capitalism, unless the working class presses for more radical measures of reform that are directed at the very causes of unemployment and inequality. The main distinction between reformists and Marxists is that while the former believe that capitalism can be remade into a welfare society, the latter see the struggle for reform not only as a means of improving the immediate lot of the people. The struggle for reform is also the means by which the workers and broad masses of the people come to see the limitations of capitalism and the necessity of socialism, and at the same time build up their strength and alliances for bringing about a basic change that will remove the need for concessions from monopoly because the working people will become the rulers of society. But the entire labor movement will have to go through education in struggle, in the form in which it presents itself here, to arrive at the position where the movement for remedial measures will be transformed into a movement to change the basis of society.

## II

High level unemployment appears side by side with large capital investment in new machinery, extensive unused capacity, and rising prices. These seemingly contradictory phenomena arise from the monopoly structure of the economy, and more specifically, from the monopoly form of competition. While superseding free competition, monopoly does not exclude competition between the big corporations, but only changes its form. At the very high level of monopoly in the United States, this new form of competition has given rise to particularly sharp antagonisms within the dominant monopoly sector of the economy, and between it and the non-monopoly sector that still tries to operate on the old competitive basis, which is considerably restricted and distorted by the all-pervading influence of monopoly in the economy as a whole.

The central motive force of monopoly competition is the drive for maximum profits, rather than the lower average rate of profit determined by the free market of pre-monopoly capitalism. By virtue of their dominant position in key sectors of the economy, a few big corporations are able to peg prices for given commodities at levels high above value, and sustain them even into periods of recession. Because of the essentially anarchic, planless nature of the capitalist economy and its cyclical character, monopoly cannot have absolute control over prices, and therefore administrative price setting will not always be effective, particularly in a deep and general crisis. But monopoly has the effect of minimizing sharp price fluctuations, keeping them as a more or less rigid framework within which the race for profit proceeds among the giants. In this form of competition, maximum profits are sought primarily by reducing unit costs within a high price structure, and this is achieved by increasing productivity and the exploitation of labor, and also by driving down the cost of raw materials supplied by the non-monopolized sector at home and colonial areas abroad.

It is this form of competition, together with the accumulation of huge reserves, that essentially accounts for considerable technical progress in the post-war years, contrary to the expectation that monopoly under all circumstances would lead to stagnation in technique. This view was always mistaken. As Lenin showed, even during a period of world capitalist decadence, uneven development might result in the progress of capitalist production in one or another country while it declines in others. And it is his analysis of monopoly competition which explains why, in the special postwar circumstances, monopoly was compelled to undertake technical innovations in production in practically all leading capitalist countries, even if unevenly and chaotically, and even if they are not developed to the fullest extent.

But technical progress under monopoly has serious consequences for the people. In the past, a reserve army of unemployed was needed by capitalism for the expansion of production. This was supplied in this country by immigration from Europe and later by the migration of Negro workers from the plantations of the South, by the importation of Mexican and Puerto Rican labor, by the massive displacement of farmers from agriculture, by the recruitment of women into the labor force and from the various middle strata displaced by monopoly. Under the

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-G—Continued

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new technical conditions, expansion of output can be provided to a much greater extent than before by the widespread use of the new technique rather than from a labor force which has now grown to enormous proportions. A high level of unemployment, with no prospect of jobs within the present monopoly structure, is becoming a permanent characteristic of American society, whatever the level of economic activity.

So drastic a change cannot take place without arousing the opposition of workers who have become surplus and of the employed workers who face a similar fate, particularly those who do not enjoy the advantages of seniority or hold marginal jobs, like the Negro workers (among whom unemployment is at least twice as severe as among other categories), the women and the youth. But it is also characteristic of this situation that the semi-skilled and skilled workers in industry are being downgraded or rendered surplus by new machinery and the reallocation of industry. The will to struggle for the right to work is mounting, with great pressures upon trade union leadership for action. The labor movement will have to develop a comprehensive struggle on a broad front to translate the great increase in productivity resulting from the new technique into the shorter work week and into increases in wages and reduction in prices which are made possible by the drop in production costs.

While greater efforts will have to be made to win wage-hour demands, fringe benefits and new social legislation whenever possible, this will no longer suffice. The labor movement should never lose sight of the immediate economic demands of the workers, and always extend the struggle for them, but it is also necessary to have a labor program that simultaneously will seek to interfere directly with monopoly competition in order to counteract its disastrous operation. By contract negotiations as well as legislative action, labor needs to press for direct participation in decisions involving the investment and production policies of management, as they affect introduction of new techniques, working norms and pace of work, labor costs and the work week.

This will be necessary not only to assure adequate procedures for the reclassification, retraining and reallocation of displaced workers. For this problem will become unmanageable unless at the same time democratic controls are established over production norms and the rate of introduction of new machinery, including the construction of new plants and the reallocation of production which are used by the employers to evade contract provisions by placing automated factories in unorganized and low-wage areas. Reductions in the work week without cuts in weekly wages should be fought for in direct relation to control of automation, so that a reduction neither in the work force nor in real income should result. To achieve these ends and to protect the status, conditions and health of the workers, particularly from the effects of speedup, labor will also have to fight for workers' participation in the management of production at the job and plant levels.

A program for labor's intervention in the investment policies of monopoly and for workers' participation in control of production has nothing in common with the idea of People's Capitalism, which is fostered by monopoly to mollify the class struggle and to offset the influence among the workers of the socialist countries, where technical progress of a very high order is expressed in social progress. People's Capitalism, the "new capitalism," or "capitalism without capitalists" and similar ideas attempt to found themselves on the allged "managerial revolution," the "income revolution," and the "welfare state." Actually, whatever share the managers of industry have been able to get in ownership has not altered to any significant degree the functioning of monopoly capitalism or its drive for maximum profits. All the claims to wider stock-ownership, even the extensive participation of the middle strata in the frenzied stockmarket speculations, and the most subtle scheme for employee stock-sharing, cannot hide the essential reality of monopoly control and the further concentration of ownership. Nor do they change the fact that in the recent period of extended boom the total income of the lowest three-tenths of U.S. income receivers has actually declined, while the share of wages in national income has grown only slightly if at all, despite the greater strength of the unions. Instead of illusory stock-sharing schemes, which do not change the realities of class exploitation a whit, labor must seek through class struggle an increasing share of profit in the form of wages under conditions of full employment in peacetime. And this requires direct labor interference in the operations of monopoly, including encroachments upon its property rights and privileges.

Such encroachments must include also labor's intervention in the fixing of prices, in its own interest and in the interest of the broadest sectors of the

people. Through the pricing mechanism, monopoly retrieves a part of wages, including the cost of fringe benefits, and takes an increasing share of surplus value and earnings produced in the non-monopoly sector, while trying to convince the public that high wages and social expenditures by government are responsible for inflation. Actually, the rise in the price level is a long-term trend of monopoly capitalism, and has been constant since World War II. Huge military expenditures, which exceed by many times government spending for social benefits, and certain monetary and fiscal manipulations accentuate this trend, and at times can even be the prime causes for a new price inflation. And conversely, even if military spending remains high, the use of monetary and fiscal measures to fight inflation might help bring on a depression.

As a matter of fact, monopoly competition within a high price system is a prime factor making for crisis because it increases unemployment, hampers higher production levels since it can assure large monopoly profits even when operating much below capacity, and reduces purchasing power. Such wage increases as labor is able to win lag behind its rise in productivity, with the result that monopoly is able to realize higher profits, since the decline in unit costs even at low production levels more than offsets the wage rise. Instead of passing on to the consumer its share of the benefits of greater productivity, monopoly uses wage raises as a pretext for raising prices, and by blaming labor seeks to create antagonism between the unions in monopolized industries and the rest of the population.

To counteract the disastrous effects of monopoly competition as well as the anti-labor propaganda of big business, labor should use its strength to impede the upward price trend, with its threat to the real wages of all workers and its crisis-provoking effects. Since prices in the monopoly sector have become primarily an administrative matter, the strong unions in this sector are in a position to press for a lower price policy through contract negotiations, together with control of automation, the shorter work week, higher wages and other benefits. But since prices affect society as a whole, labor should seek united action with other people's forces for the establishment of a system of democratic controls over prices through government action.

Such regulatory and financial agencies which already exist and are charged with controlling public utility, transport and other rates in the public interest, but which have in practice followed the monopoly high-price policy, should be reconstituted to assure the direct participation of labor and people's organizations. At the same time, new government measures should be sought to permit democratic controls over monopoly prices, not as a means of freezing wages, but hand in hand with controls over the rate of introduction of labor-saving machinery with the aim of preventing the permanent displacement of workers from production.

Technical progress, expanding production, full employment, lower prices and a general all-round improvement of living and social conditions -- so often proclaimed as the aim of welfare capitalism -- cannot be provided in the present society. Only socialist society can provide them simultaneously and permanently, as inherent laws of its development. A powerful working class movement, leading a broad coalition against monopoly, can prevent deterioration of living conditions and gain concessions for the people by impeding the free play of the economic laws of monopoly capitalism. To raise the level of the struggle from one of "impeding" and of "gaining concessions" requires the advance to the struggle for socialism.

### III

An anti-monopoly program that seeks to win the right to work for all entails struggles on a wide front for structural reform in government as well as in industry. An all-sided political struggle, sparked by labor, will have to be developed to counteract monopoly domination of the state and to shut off vital areas of government from monopoly control. But such a program must take into account the nature of the modern state and its actual function.

The major extension of state economic activities has occurred in this country since the great crisis of the 1930's. This represents a crucial advance of monopoly control over the state and not, as various reformists interpret it, the emergence of the state as an independent intermediary power which is supposed to impartially regulate the economy and to transform capitalism into a welfare society. State intervention in the economy has become a necessary function of monopoly capitalism, which cannot get along without it. But this does not mean

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that the disastrous reactionary consequences of monopoly domination over the state cannot be averted by the united struggles of the people, through pressure upon the state and through independent political action.

Actually, the state has very little control over production, even less here than in other capitalist countries. The major growth of state economic activity has been at the financial level, in the form of huge state expenditures which are associated with the expansion of all government operations and with a huge bureaucracy, but especially with the militarization of the country. The expansion of all forms of government spending, and particularly the gigantic military outlay, arises not only from the international contradictions faced by imperialism -- which U. S. monopoly tries to solve from "positions of strength" -- but also from the internal contradictions and especially from the efforts of monopoly to prevent another crisis like that of 1929, of which it is in mortal fear.

An anti-monopoly program should aim at safeguarding the people from the consequences both of the arms build-up and of a threatening economic crisis. Heavy arms spending, by stimulating capital investment, served to sustain and prolong the high level of postwar economic activity and was the principal factor in preventing the recessions of this period from deepening into severe crisis, although it was not the only factor. Aside from its role in serving world expansionist aims, monopoly prefers military spending, rather than social welfare expenditures, because of the huge guaranteed profits in government war contracts and the stimulus provided by this form of spending to greater concentration of economic power and to firmer monopoly control of the state.

But armament outlays by government, with their cold war pressures and war dangers, and constant inflationary effects, is not the only way to stimulate capital investment and economic growth. Government spending devoted to constructive economic development and to social welfare can also serve to counteract crisis symptoms and to hold off a severe depression. This becomes imperative because permanent militarization carries with it the danger of war and of fascist-type development within the country. Furthermore, the shift to the new weapons is having effects within the war sector of the economy similar to automation. Missiles and similar weapons require huge capital investments in instrumentation, without the mass production and large numbers of workers needed for conventional arms. While placing a heavier tax burden on the people, the new arms production is displacing workers from war industry and does not have the same anti-crisis effect as the old war production.

A people's anti-monopoly program should seek to shift the weight of government spending to constructive social purposes, that will have the effect of counteracting crisis symptoms while reducing the heavy burden and the dangers of arms spending. Labor and a broad democratic front ought to fight for government spending policies that are directed to such constructive purposes as the solution of the unemployment problem, economic development of the South and other underdeveloped and marginal areas, housing and metropolitan development, education, science, and other pressing peacetime tasks.

The frustration or curbing of monopoly expansion abroad by the progress of socialism and of national liberation, and the emerging possibility of averting war within the new world structure, present new opportunities to the anti-monopoly forces within the country for effective struggles to shift the emphasis from militarization of the economy to its peacetime development. Hand in hand with the struggle for a policy of peaceful negotiations to end the cold war, there has to be a struggle for an alternate domestic policy of peacetime economic development and of trade with all countries. Under conditions of economic competition between the two world systems, the terms of that competition can be turned to the advantage of the American people by a united and growing struggle against monopoly which seeks to curb its power and to impede its freedom of action against the people. Peaceful economic competition between the two systems will not of itself change the motivation and operation of monopoly capitalism. But socialist progress and policies by the force of example generate pressures upon the domestic policies of monopoly, which the labor and democratic forces should exploit to exact greater concessions from monopoly and to advance toward basic social changes.

Proposals for structural changes in the corporate network and in government economic functions which have as their aim the curbing of monopoly should be directed principally at dismantling the peak financial interest groups -- like the Rockefeller, Morgan, du Pont and Mellon empires. Their control cuts across industrial, financial and commercial lines, without regard to the actual function of their investments in production and distribution. Command of vast accumulations of capital (whether in the big banks and insurance companies or in the industrial corporations) permits these peak monopoly groups to dictate policies with respect

to investment, production, labor, prices, credit, and foreign aid, through government and through their own institutions. It is this commanding position in the economy that gives the top monopoly groups power over the nation and serves as their base for aggressive expansion abroad, with the consequent dangers of war.

This area of top monopoly control should be the principal target of the struggle to decentralize and dismantle the centers of corporate power, rather than the big and integrated production units themselves. Large-scale production, with its advanced technology and efficient organization of all the elements of production, represents a high level of social labor, which is a permanent achievement. Monopoly now uses it to obtain maximum profits through the exploitation and robbery of the people; under socialism, large-scale production would be taken over by the nation and used for the maximum benefit of the people. In this historic sense, monopoly control is temporary and technical progress is permanent, and therefore the former, despite its great present power, is subject to structural change by the action and pressure of the people.

However, this does not mean that a fetish should be made out of preserving large-scale production in all instances. In order to advance the freedom of the Negro people and democratic development of the South, for example, the large semi-feudal plantation units should be broken up and divided among the croppers and tenants. Or, in order to save masses of farmers from eviction, an anti-monopoly program might seek to limit the size of landownings and restrict the scale of integration and contract farming. Similarly, restrictions may be sought upon the merger of industrial operations when it leads to the elimination of small and medium enterprise and the further concentration of monopoly control in the peak groups. In defense of democracy and public morality, considerations of efficiency should not stand in the way of breaking up monopolies in all means of mass culture -- like the newsprint industry, newspaper chains, television and radio networks, and movies. Nor will the people worry about efficiency when a peace policy requires the dismantling or complete reconversion of armament industries.

The participation of labor, community and people's organizations in old and new regulatory agencies and basic reform of the tax system would be important steps towards establishing democratic controls over monopoly operations. But these would not amount to structural reform of the state-corporate system unless they lead in the direction of important nationalizations. The previous significant structural change was the emergence on a wide scale of government intervention in the economy during the 1930's, which monopoly at first opposed but then turned to its own advantage. The next significant series of structural reforms is in the realm of nationalization, which labor and the people must seek to turn to their advantage.

The public services -- such as electric and gas utilities, railroads and airlines, and telecommunications -- are not only particularly profitable means of milking the public but have also become centers of high financial control which are used by monopoly to extend its sway over branches of the economy dependent upon these services. While fighting for a system of democratic controls over rates in the interests of the people and the non-monopoly consumers, a people's united front should press for government ownership when this is required to reorganize and improve these services while reducing rates. When they are locally controlled they should be transferred to the states or to the municipalities.

The entire field of housing and the interrelated problems of city and suburban planning, schools and cultural facilities, highways, metropolitan transport, and the location of industry now require urgent solution and can no longer be left to the localities. Their solution requires a high level of government planning -- Federal and State -- if the necessary resources are to be gathered and if public necessity is to rule over the private real estate interests and bankers. But government planning will serve primarily these same interests unless labor and the people's community organizations intervene energetically, insisting upon their participation in the public boards, agencies and owning authorities set up for these purposes.

The resources of the Federal Government should be used to bring about a structural reform of Southern agriculture by dividing the semi-feudal plantations into farms for the former croppers and tenants, while encouraging the all-around industrialization of this underdeveloped region and building adequate school, health, and housing facilities. Basic reform of the tax system, in addition to shifting the burden from the low-income families and medium business to the rich and the big corporations, should provide for the use of the taxing power to in-

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duce new industrial growth in the South, as well as in the depressed areas. If the big employers can now use the tax system to make the people pay for their new equipment and plant, an anti-monopoly united front should seek to use the tax system to make the corporations redirect their investment in such a fashion as to reduce unemployment and assist regional development.

An effective anti-monopoly program should favor government ownership of new industries resulting from scientific inventions which have been developed under public auspices, like atomic energy and outer-space missiles. Efforts to denationalize the section of the atomic energy industry now under government ownership by turning over atomic power development to private corporations should be stopped. Instead, the entire industry -- from raw materials to the finished product--should be nationalized and developed as a government-operated enterprise for peaceful purposes. Industries that depend primarily upon government contracts -- like airplane and missile manufacture -- should be taken over and operated by the government.

Giveaways of national resources should be halted. Public lands and the riches contained therein -- oil, other minerals, forests, water power -- should remain in Federal government ownership and be developed in the public interest by government enterprises. The development of water power, navigation, rural electrification and irrigation, as well as soil and timber conservation and other associated activities should be pursued on the TVA model, but with direct labor and community participation on the management boards.

Mergers and amalgamations which would result in further concentration of economic power in top finance-capitalist groups should be prohibited. Big firms being forced into bankruptcy or merger should be taken over by the government, while the position of small and medium enterprises on the land, in industry and in commerce should be defended by government-backed measures providing equal access to credit, raw materials, patents, cheap motive power, as well as marketing aids and other measures that would defend and improve the position of the non-monopoly sector in relation to monopoly in any industry. Government controls should be established over monopoly foreign investment and trade to prevent its interference with the sovereignty of other nations, while foreign trade channels should be opened to small and medium enterprise, which, unlike the monopolies, do not seek strategic control of foreign resources and exclusive domination of markets and spheres of influence.

These and other anti-monopoly measures should move in the direction of the nationalization of monopoly property, with compensation only for the non-monopoly stockholders, whenever monopoly obstructs the immediate objectives felt by the people as necessary to their welfare. Confiscation of property in the public welfare has taken place in this country before. When the Tories obstructed independence their property was confiscated. When the counter-revolution of the slavemasters was defeated their property in slaves was confiscated, and the country is still suffering from the failure to confiscate their landed property as well. When monopoly obstructs social well-being and peace, its property rights should also be subject to forfeiture. This revolutionary doctrine is deeply rooted in our history; it has historical, social, moral and also Constitutional justification, and a social necessity of its own for the present period.

Nationalization by the bourgeois state does not of itself mean socialism. Only when power has passed to the working class and its allies does nationalized property become common ownership by the people, and only then is it possible to transform state economic measures into real social planning for the people's welfare. Nationalization under capitalist conditions represents important basic changes in structure, reflecting and accentuating the contradiction between the very high level of social labor arising from the extreme complexity of modern industrial society, on the one hand, and the restrictive, outmoded form of private ownership, especially in monopoly property, on the other. The level of nationalization in a highly developed monopoly society is indicative of the degree to which society is becoming unable to operate in the old way, but it does not yet signify that the basic crisis of transformation into a new society has been solved. Nor do measures of nationalization in themselves necessarily represent an advance to socialism, a sort of step-by-step evolution. In one sense can they be considered an aid to socialism: Capitalist state economic intervention, including nationalization of production, make the transition to socialism

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easier -- once power is transferred to the working class. That is why capitalists have a mixed approach to all extensions of state economic activity, welcoming such measures when they are needed to serve their interests and at the same time fearing them as omens of the future.

The actual role that bourgeois nationalization plays in given circumstances is determined by the level of independent development of the working class and people's forces, the class composition of the government, and the world framework. When monopoly is in complete command of the government, and the opposing class and people's forces are insufficiently developed, nationalization can be made primarily to serve reactionary purposes -- politically, in strengthening the monopoly state apparatus and choking democracy; economically, in accelerating the concentration of monopoly power; in world affairs, in heightening the danger of war. On the other hand, state economic intervention and nationalization can also be made to serve the interests of the people if by their economic and democratic struggles and their independent political activity, building up a powerful united front and popular coalitions, they are able to intrude into government, curb monopoly power within the state itself, and wrest from it fundamental concessions. Under conditions of a resurgent mass democratic movement, a powerful combination of working class and people's forces with a majority in Congress and control over the Administrative branch can advance toward transforming all state economic activity into socially progressive measures by eliminating monopoly from the economic and political life of the nation.

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-H

7. Class and Strategic Alliances

Recent swift changes in the class composition of the American people broaden the potential scope of the united front against monopoly, and also present new problems with respect to class and social alliances.

Within a few decades, and at an increasing tempo since World War II, the American people have become a nation overwhelmingly of wage-earners. Technological change hand in hand with the growth of monopoly has accelerated the polarization of classes throughout American society. Far from creating a "new middle class," as believers in the "new capitalism" contend, only 15 per cent of all those gainfully employed today are farmers, capitalists, businessmen and self-employed professionals. The rest are wage-earners, although with widely differentiated strata among them--from the extremely exploited farm laborers to the high salaried scientists and technicians. Employment in all categories is now also more concentrated within the orbit of the big corporations, whose decisions on economic and social policy affect directly the conditions of the majority of wage-earners and set the pattern for the rest.

These changes have enhanced the potential role of the working class as the leading force for social progress. But this role cannot be realized unless the labor movement seriously begins to solve the problems arising from these changes, and particularly from the radical shifts in the composition of the working class itself. These shifts arise both from the nature of the technical revolution in production and from the vast expansion of all functions connected with distribution, marketing, financing and servicing of consumers' goods, as well as the expanding operations of government and of corporation management. While the number of manual workers engaged in production tends to remain constant, even as output rises, the non-manual and white collar sectors, especially the trained technical personnel, tend to rise rapidly. These new sectors of unorganized wage-earners, in addition to the older fields long neglected by the trade unions, are to a considerable extent capable of organization, the largest numbers being concentrated in the trustified branches and in the government structure.

The defense of the interests of the key sectors of the production workers and the advance of the trade unions require a new leap forward in the organization of the unorganized, of a scope and a sweep comparable to the labor upsurge of the 1930's which won for industrial unionism the decisive positions in the trustified mass production industries. Some of the old neglected tasks--unionization of the factory farms, of the expanding low-wage industries of the South and of the clerical occupations--now acquire a new urgency if the employers, in their effort to place the burden of automation upon the manual production workers, are to be prevented from playing off against each other various categories of the workers in diverse branches of the economy. Nor can the unions continue to neglect the special problems of the Negro workers, of the women and of the youth leaving school to enter the labor force. The manifold and complex changes involved in the technical revolution and in the extension of monopoly and government operations into the far reaches of the economy demand a similar extension of the organization and functions of organized labor, if it is to spark and lead a united front of the people against monopoly. Consolidating the decisive positions in the mass production industries where labor directly confronts peak monopoly, extending outward to include other important sectors of the workers in production, the unions will have to press forward to organize the vast body of non-blue-collar wage-earners.

To meet the challenge of automation, it is imperative for the unions to solve the new problems of organization arising from the rapid growth (more rapid than any other labor sector) of the force of technicians and scientists whose role in production has increased with the technological advance. Large numbers of clerical workers are also directly involved in the operation of the new technology. Mismanned the "salaried middle class" by bourgeois sociologists, the engineers, scientists and other specialists are essentially wage-earners, directly connected with production. Highly paid, they tend in the majority to resist trade union organization, being corporate-minded and strongly middle-class in their ideology. Their sense of privilege is heightened by the fact that they have become the new aristocrats of production, enjoying incomparably better conditions than workers on the line and greater job security. The imperative organization of this unorganized sector requires a trade union initiative of the first order, with a special, many-sided approach--ideological and political as well as organizational, and reaching into the educational system itself. For the institutions of higher learning have really become industrial vocational schools for the new technology.

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In the strategy of the class struggle against monopoly, the alliance between the labor movement and the Negro liberation struggle occupies the central role. This is an outcome of the specific features of American historical development, which has organically linked the struggle for Negro freedom, including the democratic revolution in the South, with the striving of all working people for democratic and social progress. The very structure of American society and politics today, with its historically evolved features, has provided monopoly with its chief ally--the Dixiecrat reaction, rooted in the remnants of the slave past. Thus, for the advancement of each and in their mutual interest, the labor movement and the Negro freedom movement are compelled to combine in united action against the monopoly-Dixiecrat reaction. Since the Abolitionist movement, the fight for Negro freedom has been a central theme, at times the dynamo, of democratic progress in the country. This is a permanent characteristic of social progress, reaching into the socialist future. Under present-day conditions, with the surge forward of the Negro in America for his full rights in every sphere and with the inspiring successes of the colonial liberation abroad, the Labor-Negro alliance is again the touchstone of democracy and social progress in the United States.

Recent changes have greatly strengthened and broadened the base for this alliance. The weakening of the plantation economy of the South by capitalist attrition over many years, and especially in the postwar period, improves the prospects for its final eradication by the mass movement and for the elimination of Dixiecratism as a power, both in the South and in national political life. By the same process of internal capitalist expansion which weakened the old plantation system, large sectors of the Negro peasantry have become workers, and they now comprise the majority of the Negro people. This has altered radically the class relations among the Negro people and has also strengthened the common class bond between labor and the Negro people as a whole.

The effects of these changes are far-reaching. Within the working class, broader ground now exists for the process of integration and Negro-white unity, although here too a constant struggle has to be waged against race bias and for the recognition of the special demands of the Negro workers arising from their underprivileged position. Nevertheless, the rapid growth of the Negro component of the working class is bound to give a new powerful impulse to the integrationist process, and is raising the possibility for the solution of the Negro national question along integrationist rather than separatist lines. This is favored also by the increased weight of the working class within the Negro liberation movement itself, offsetting the wavering middle-class leadership and promising to give the movement as a whole a more militant and consistent direction. The Negro-white working class provides the possibility of firm cohesion between the labor movement and the Negro freedom movement, for a broad alliance which will encompass the entire Negro people and embody the combination of democratic and working-class objectives which mean social progress for the country as a whole. It remains for the organized labor movement to overcome its serious lag with respect to the struggle for Negro rights, if it is to realize the great potential of the Labor-Negro alliance.

Placing the Labor-Negro alliance in this central way should not lead to an underestimation of the role of the small and medium-sized farmers in the anti-monopoly united front. It is incorrect to think that mechanization together with monopoly concentration in agriculture is solving the farm problem. While the relative role of agriculture, and particularly small farming, in the economy as a whole has declined further, the contradictions on the countryside have been accentuated. Classes among the farmers have been polarized to the extreme. The role of the factory farm, employing large numbers of wage-workers on a seasonal basis, has grown rapidly. During recent years, the "revolution" in agriculture has thrown millions of farmers off the land, among them many Negro croppers and tenants who have migrated away from the plantation. Half of the remaining tillers of the soil have been reduced to part-time or subsistence farming, while the family-sized commercial farmers, unable to compete with Big Business agriculture, are insecure in income and tenure. With the spread of vertical integration, many of the medium farms have become appendages to the big farm enterprises, and all of them are victimized by the processing, farm machinery and banking corporations. Whatever relief may be momentarily supplied by government subsidies and price support, which make a premium out of reduced production and are of greatest benefit to the big growers, these measures cannot solve the crisis of American agriculture.

Accordingly, the mass of farmers are among the most anti-monopoly conscious forces in the country, with a rich background of third-party revolt against big business. Despite the fact that recent changes have reduced the relative weight

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of the farmers in national politics, in important farm regions they continue to play a key role in State politics and in Labor-Farmer coalitions. Since many farmers now work both on the land and in industry, the Labor-Farmer alliance has a closer organic bond than previously and favors the organization of the agricultural laborers on the factory farms. In the South, the struggle for basic agrarian reform is of direct interest to the white as well as Negro farmers, for it is directed against those forms of tenancy and farm financing which have also increased the dependence of the poor white farmers on the large landowners, and a democratic transformation would be in their interests. Because of their role in production and the insecurity to which they are exposed, the mass of farmers throughout the country can be powerful allies of the working class in the struggle against monopoly.

Also as a consequence of recent economic and social changes, a further differentiation has taken place within the bourgeoisie. As a tiny minority of super-capitalists preempted wider sectors of the economy, the pressures upon the small capitalists and businessmen increased. Many were displaced entirely, especially small business by the expansion of the giant chain-stores. Others were absorbed by the bigger corporations or themselves merged to meet monopoly competition. Still others are brought into dependence upon big capital as suppliers of parts to large industrial enterprises, or through agency networks for marketing heavy consumers goods, or by big business control over raw materials, capital resources and markets. Together with this, many self-employed professionals have been absorbed as wage-earners within the corporate structure. The growing pressure upon the middle strata of industry and commerce may have been obscured by the speculative frenzy in which these sectors participated during the high prosperity years. But the old trend, which continued late into the imperialist era, of the constant recreation of small and medium enterprise is now on the ebb. While there are still many exceptions, the overriding trend is toward the further displacement or subordination of the middle strata, with mounting antagonisms between monopoly and the non-monopoly sectors of the bourgeoisie.

If the full potential of the united front against monopoly is to be developed, the positions of the middle strata should be defended against Big Business. The small and medium capitalists, in the non-monopoly sector, some of whom employ hundreds of workers in relatively big enterprises, tend to be as much anti-labor as anti-monopoly. By supporting their concrete demands against Big Business, labor can, at least in part and on important issues, win them as allies, or neutralize important sectors. As labor already does in some industries, the tactic can be further evolved of directing the main burden of the class struggle against monopoly. With such an approach it will be possible to build both the united front against monopoly and the trade unions throughout the economy.

It is characteristic of the middle strata that generally they are afraid of basic social change, and especially of socialism. But the situation is such in this country, that a united front against monopoly in the period ahead also carries with it certain assurances for the future, as far as the middle strata are concerned. For in this country, the elimination of monopoly by socialist nationalization would immediately provide an extensive and adequate base for socialism at a high economic level. Under such circumstances, small and medium enterprise on a private ownership basis could continue for some time within the overall framework of socialist development and planning. While monopoly offers the middle strata the prospect at any moment of sudden obliteration, socialism can provide a long period of adjustment and gradual socialist transformation, on a voluntary basis, in the course of which they can play a constructive role.

With recent advances in technology, the scientists and other technical professionals have come to play a more important role in production. Together with this, the educators and intellectuals generally have been made to serve the new needs of monopoly, not only in the preparation of the young generation but also in the complex superstructure of marketing and salesmanship which became necessary to big business. The misuse of the wonderful scientific discoveries for destructive purposes, the gigantic waste inherent in the forced sale of anything that will net high profits, the insult to common intelligence and the moral decay inherent in high-powered and omnipotent Madison Avenue crusades, and the general vulgarization of all cultural values by big business civilization are creating a profound crisis in the nation's intellectual life. The Corporation Man, sold body and soul to monopoly, is the symbol of stagnation and decay. A developing anti-monopoly united front, sparked by a resurgent mass movement and initiating a democratic and cultural revival in the land, will exert a powerful attraction upon all categories of intellectual workers. They have a particularly important role to play in social progress, and the labor and progressive movement needs to create an atmosphere in which they will feel at home.

# # #

8. Independent Political Action

In the Communist view, the next major advance of independent political action will lead to the formation of a labor-led people's party. Like meaningful advances of the past, it will be a product of sweeping economic and democratic mass struggles. It is impossible to foretell the exact form of such a party, or the issues which will prove decisive in its formation. But its general direction and content may be indicated. If such a party is to serve effectively as the political expression of a broad democratic front of the people against monopoly, its emergence would involve a mass break-away from the traditional two-party system. It would have to be based firmly on the trade unions, have at its core a solid Labor-Negro alliance, and win the adherence of the mass of farmers and of the city middle strata.

Since the end of the last century, the history of popular political action can be divided roughly into two periods, each with a characteristic form. Until the 1920's, independent political efforts by the people took the form predominantly of national and state farmer-labor parties. Beginning with the Populists, these movements were led by radical farm and middle-class forces. Although workers also participated, the main trade union leadership generally confined their political activities within the two-party system, following a primitive pressure policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." While the popular political revolts were directed against the entrenched money or monopoly power, Gompers and other early A F of L leaders set a pattern of class collaboration that was to plague the labor movement for decades to come. It was not until 1924, in the presidential campaign for LaFollette by the Progressive Party, that the trade unions officially endorsed an independent third party. This represented an important transition from political revolt of the Populist type to third-party action of the labor type. Despite a high national vote (17% of the total) and significant regional successes, economic stabilization and the withdrawal of official trade union endorsement resulted in the rapid demise of the national party.

These earlier movements were the product of mass protest against monopoly power in the economy and in government during the period of the rise and consolidation of Big Business. Their programs included planks for government ownership of railroads, banks and enterprises engaged in the processing of farm products, as well as reforms intended to break up the trusts and to protect the democratic rights of the people. While they also included various socialist tendencies, the only mass political movement which proclaimed socialism as the aim was that of the Socialist Party, with Eugene Debs as standard-bearer, in the years immediately preceding World War I.

During the great mass upheaval of the crisis decade of the 1930's, popular political action was focused within the two-party framework, principally in the Democratic Party. However, it represented a higher form of political action than the narrow pressure policy of the old craft unions. With the formation of the CIO, industrial unionism in the key mass production industries provided a more powerful base. In place of the old hit-or-miss action of labor, a more or less coherent and united labor vote made itself felt in national and local politics. Within the Democratic Party, labor's political action committees operated as an organized social force, providing the staunchest support to New Deal reform, and with considerable influence at times and in some places on choice of candidates.

Although labor was not accorded a place in the official leadership of the Democratic Party nor among prominent candidates for public office, it was a force to be reckoned with. Labor operated within the party through an alliance between the unions -- specifically the Progressive wing, supported by the Left -- and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. The alliance was directed mainly against the Dixiecrats and the city bosses. Where labor took an active part in politics, with wide rank and file participation, the old party machines were defeated or severely curbed. To an uneven degree, and with wide lapses, labor also began to develop its own political blocs with the Negro people and the farmers. In both respects, however, it lagged far behind the real possibilities, and left these alliances largely to the liberals.

Side by side with and supplementing labor political action within the Democratic Party (in some regions in the Republican Party also), a number of state independent parties and political federations were formed or were revitalized at the height of the mass upsurge. Most significant among them were the American Labor Party of New York, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, and the Washington (State) Commonwealth Federation. Their role may be considered intermediate as between the trade union political action committees and

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genuinely independent labor parties. The Federations in effect became special forms of the political action committees, while the labor parties constituted a more independent form of alliance with the liberal wings of the major parties. The American Labor Party was of special significance because at its height it represented a gathering of unions with strong socialist tendencies and various currents, including Social-Democrats, liberals, left-wingers and Communists. Some sentiment for the formation of a national labor party also existed, but this was not generally accepted in view of the danger from the Right and the functioning alliance with the Roosevelt Democrats, who opposed steps in that direction. In any case, the advent of World War II put an end to any inherent tendency of this kind which may have developed.

Pre-war political action by labor was a distinct advance over previous attitudes in the trade unions. Although restricted within the old party framework and held within bounds by the alliance with the liberals, labor did exert independent political pressure as a cohesive social force and with a degree of political class consciousness, which attained greater quality in the independent state parties. Significant legislative victories and reforms were won by labor during this period, amounting to a leap forward in social welfare.

At the same time, on the negative side, the great mass upheaval was safely channelized within the Democratic Party, which, under the strains of a profound crisis, again fulfilled its well established function in the two-party system. As the reform party under firm capitalist leadership, it gave concessions to labor in order to preserve the system, and carried through necessary changes in the state-corporation structure which enabled monopoly to weather the storm and gain a new lease of power. It is certainly true that labor's role during this period assured the defeat of reaction, contributed decisively to a progressive rather than a fascist outcome from the crisis, and prepared the way for wartime national unity to defeat the Axis powers. However, labor failed to develop its independent role in politics and in government to the extent necessary to oppose the growing power of monopoly. During the war, monopoly greatly extended its positions in the economy and in the state, and prepared the ground for the shift to the cold war and to reaction which followed World War II.

Generally speaking, in the first cold war decade labor was rendered politically immobile by the policy of the dominant trade union leadership. Together with the liberals, the labor leadership threw its support to the cold war and the arms race, succumbed to the anti-Communist crusade at great costs to labor's rights and civil liberties, and pursued a full-blown class collaborationist policy. An effort was made by the Progressives and by the left wing in the labor movement to initiate a break-away from both old parties in the Wallace campaign of 1948. While effectively raising the peace issue in the midst of the cold war, the movement failed to rally substantial support. The main body of the labor movement continued to support the Democratic Party, which managed to put up a liberal front on domestic issues while pursuing a rampant cold war policy. Within a few years the remnants of the independent state parties collapsed or merged into the old parties.

Labor continued to function politically largely within the Democratic Party, through the action committees which had been established in the previous period of advance. This was carried forward by the merged AFL-CIO. Calls for a labor party were heard rarely within the trade unions, and then mostly as a form of pressure upon the Democratic Party leadership to obtain concessions. Even so, this form of pressure indicated in what direction labor might be pressing in the next stage of political advance.

By 1958, as economic and social issues which had been submerged or postponed in the era of cold war "prosperity" again came sharply forward, the working class began to stir politically. The elections of that year showed that when in an economic decline labor's rights are directly threatened, it can put up an organized and effective political struggle against Big Business. While operating within the established pattern of political action, labor organized its own campaign, against the state "right-to-work" laws, in some instances quite independently of the Democratic Party machine and leadership, with a consequent stimulation of extensive rank and file activity. In labor's campaign there was also a tendency to operate along a wider front together with the Negro people, the farmers and community forces, and to break out of the restrictive bounds set by the so-called moderates in the Democratic Party and in the labor leadership. Greater emphasis upon labor candidates was also apparent. Where labor political action was more aggressive it sought, in combination with the liberals, to take over the lower organizations of the Democratic Party, while also displaying considerable initiative toward the independent voters.

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Although some promising tendencies appeared in this initial political reactivation of labor, the new Congress with its continuing anti-labor, anti-democratic and cold war policies, and particularly its failure to meet the problem of unemployment, emphasized that labor would be handicapped as long as it failed to go beyond narrow coalition policies confined to the old parties. The issues of unemployment, democracy and peace are of such magnitude and depth that under fire of concerted Big Business attack labor will be impelled to seek more effective political means than those provided by the old parties to curb the monopoly power and win basic reform.

Recent social and economic changes in the country and in the relationship of the United States to the rest of the world affect profoundly the course and the form of the next political advance by labor and the broad mass movement. These developments are changing the grounds upon which monopoly was enabled over a long period -- principally because of its favored world position combined with great internal resources -- to keep labor and popular dissatisfaction within the bounds of the two-party system.

Throughout the era of monopoly and imperialism, wars or war incitement played an extraordinary role in repelling and diverting into safe channels popular political movements in opposition to monopoly. Four of the five major political revolts were headed off in this fashion -- the Populists by the first wave of imperialist expansion culminating in the Spanish-American War; the Socialist and the Progressive reform movements of 1912-16 by World War I; the promise of expanding independent labor action during the New Deal period by World War II; the Wallace Progressive movement by the cold war, and its remnants by the Korean War. In each case, the Democratic Party took over enough of the reform program from the political radicals to appease the revolt while becoming the government party during war or intensified war preparations.

In the present period, as a consequence of the new world structure, U.S. monopoly no longer has its former freedom of action on a global scale. The progress of the socialist world and of colonial revolution, side by side with the crisis of world imperialism, create new possibilities for averting war, and thus for depriving monopoly of the opportunity to use war as a means of blocking and containing a new mass breakaway from the major parties. The contradictions of world capitalism, so to speak, are being centered in the United States. The conflicts arising from them, as monopoly seeks to place an ever greater burden upon the people, will tend to be fought out more and more within the country. The class struggle will grow sharper. As the true issues of competition between the two world social systems become clearer the workers will also become more radical, capitalism will not seem so rosy, and the old capitalist parties will be seen as a hindrance to social progress.

Internally, the relation of the people's forces is more favorable to the emergence of an independent labor-led people's party than during previous periods of mass struggle. The unions are far stronger and better entrenched in the key sectors of the economy. They are in a better position to express the demands of the broad wage-earning population and to lead a people's anti-monopoly movement in a new wave of independent political action. As an established political force within the present two-party system -- with the beginnings of coalition with the Negro people, the farmers and dissident liberal elements -- labor is in a strong position to lead a breakaway from the monopoly-controlled parties, as the process of political realignment leads to the disintegration of the outmoded party system. The mass displacement of farmers, which is countenanced and sustained by national policy, has for some time been rekindling the spirit of farm revolt, which under present conditions can find a positive outcome only in combination with the labor movement. As the city middle strata face the prospect of a deep financial crisis, on top of their increasing subordination to monopoly, they too would tend toward such a combination.

During recent years another social force of great dynamic potential has come forward, and will play a decisive role in the alignment of people's forces. The Negro freedom movement is developing a strong political consciousness. In some respects, it is pressing more persistently than the labor movement for political action independent of both major parties. It tends toward independent local political action, on the basis of its own organized forces, to elect Negroes to public office, and to press for full civil rights. The Negro people are more conscious than other sectors of the limitations and inadequacies of the old parties. They are inspired by the successes of the colonial revolutions, by the freedom victories of the colored peoples, and are keenly aware of the concessions that can be won in this country as a consequence of world pressures upon American imperial-

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ism. In the developing economic and democratic struggles of this period, the fight for democracy in the South -- including unionization and basic agrarian and political reform -- will play a key role, with profound repercussions on the traditional party system, as in national politics as a whole.

The Negro freedom movement has a capacity of its own for independent political action, but it needs a sound and firm alliance with labor to be fully effective. It remains for labor to grasp this outstretched hand firmly in order to overcome its own political lag and to advance the interests of labor as a class. The combination of these two great social forces into a political coalition can initiate the next major political advance of the people.

Even under conditions of a new mass upsurge there may be strong pressures within the labor, Negro, farmers and people's movements to continue to operate politically within the Democratic Party as long as some immediate objectives can be obtained in this fashion. But this will be possible only up to a certain point, and then only if labor and other popular social forces are able to subordinate or subdue the Dixiecrats, city bosses and other reactionary elements. But the very process by which this is done will accentuate the decentralizing and disintegrating influences within the Democratic Party, and hasten the realignment of political forces. The direction of this realignment, if it is to represent a permanent and real advance, must be toward breaking out of the limitations of the monopoly-controlled parties in order to create a party which labor can call its own and to which all popular and anti-monopoly forces will adhere.

An orientation of working within the Democratic Party with the objective of transforming it into a liberal-labor party could well play into the hands of monopoly. The latter sees the Democratic Party as the alternate reform instrument to the Republican Party, which is the preferred party of Big Business and conservatism. If a labor party is to arise, monopoly would like to see it made safe for capitalism. The Democratic Party, under conditions of a new upsurge, may well make room for labor candidates if this is the way to stem a major breakaway and the rise of genuine working class politics. A narrow coalition policy, confined to work within the Democratic Party together with the trade union top bureaucracy and the liberals, amounts to looking backward and can be an obstacle to forward political action that will lead to a labor-led people's party. This advance will not be accomplished by missionary work at the top levels of the Democratic Party. The spade work will have to be done by the Left and Progressive forces down below -- in the labor movement, in the Negro freedom movement, among the farmers and in the communities.

Whether the advance comes as a leap forward or as a slower process, a new labor-led party is likely to emerge as a many-sided development. It will be composed of varied currents and elements locally and on a national scale, seeking common ground in opposition to monopoly and reaction. These might well encompass labor and Negro political action committees, minority movements within the old parties including community clubs and entire local organizations, electoral blocs and coalitions of the labor-Negro and labor-farmer type, community united fronts, regional independent parties, various socialist and liberal tendencies and groupings, and other new forms of political action that may arise. Political action committees of labor may operate on a broader scale than within the old parties, seeking to combine and lead independent political forces toward specific legislative and electoral objectives. There may arise again various intermediate forms between the existing labor political action committees and fully independent parties, such as appeared in the New Deal days. Left and progressive elements in the labor and people's movements might seek to focus these varied elements and currents upon the objective of a new labor-led party. The decisive turn in that direction would have to be made by the trade unions, as the central organized base for the new party.

While such a movement will include various socialist currents, it is not likely to subscribe to socialist aims, nor does it now seem likely that a party emerging from it will adopt a socialist program, at least in its formative and early stages. Essentially, it might be a labor radical reform party, with a democratic anti-monopoly and peace program. It would include people and organizations with different views on social questions, but ready to unite and work together for a common program of immediate demands. No one should be excluded because of their social philosophy, nor should such a party attempt to impose a single philosophy upon its members and supporters.

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Communists should co-operate with all forces seeking to accelerate the process of political alignment leading to the mass breakaway from the monopoly-dominated parties and the formation of the labor-led people's party. They would expect to become an accepted component of such a party, according to the form decided upon for all, with the same privileges as other groups to advocate specific views, genuine working class politics and socialism..

The formation of a new labor-led mass party would constitute a great political advance and could win real victories for the people. Whatever limitations might in time appear in such a party, would have to be overcome democratically, and would no doubt involve further advances. It is not inevitable that the American working class, in the process of attaining maturity as a political and social force, would follow the pattern or the policies of the Labor Party of Great Britain. The British Labor Party has shown that labor reformism, defending capitalism and becoming dependent upon it, is incapable of leading the nation out of a deep crisis. Communists strive to assure a more effective labor-led people's party in the United States by fighting within the labor movement for independent working class politics, and for a party grounded on working class unity and pursuing a policy directed against monopoly.

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9. The Problem of Class Collaboration

The main obstacle within the trade union movement to economic and democratic advance is the class collaborationist policy which is prevalent in the leadership. This policy rests primarily upon the opportunism arising from the relatively high standard of living for important sections of the workers as a result of the continuing economic expansion of the United States late into the imperialist era. However, internally and on a world scale, the objective base for this position is changing.

The pattern of class collaboration established by the AFL at the dawn of the imperialist era lasted until the great crisis of the 1930's, despite formidable challenge from left and rank and file movements. It took the form of collaboration between the craft unions and monopoly, at the expense of the workers in the mass production industries. This pattern was broken by the CIO, in the great leap forward which brought the workers as an organized force face to face with top monopoly in the mass production industries.

During the period of economic expansion which began with World War II, a policy of so-called class partnership became prevalent in the leadership of the industrial unions. This new pattern of class collaboration was based primarily upon the long-term interest of monopoly to stabilize labor conditions in the decisive branches of production, so that it could take greatest advantage of the opportunities for maximum profit during the war and cold war periods. Significant concessions were made to the unions on wages and benefits, while monopoly relied chiefly upon labor-saving machinery and speed-up to keep labor costs down and maximize profits under conditions of rising prices.

Although the unions grew in membership during this period, the "class partnership" policy subordinated labor's interests to the principal economic and political aims of monopoly. The consequences are extremely serious. The most decisive sectors of the organized workers were kept within the confines imposed by the prevalent policy. The unions were in danger of becoming a component part of the elaborate system of economic coordination set up by monopoly through the state. They are hamstrung by long-term union contracts and by the elaborate machinery of government-backed or supervised management-labor relations. The capacity for independent economic and political action by labor is greatly hampered. The growth of business unionism and all forms of corruption within the labor movement stifles trade union democracy and restrains rank and file activity. The establishment over a period of more or less stable contractual relations between monopoly and the major unions tended to discourage drives to organize new branches of industry or unorganized regions, especially the South, with the result also that unions failed to pay proper attention to Negro and other underprivileged workers.

Most serious has been the support by the dominant labor leadership for the nuclear arms race and the cold war, which is at the heart of class collaboration as it has developed during this period.

The hold of labor opportunism depends directly upon the willingness and the ability of monopoly to grant concessions. Without them, the "class partnership" policy would be unworkable within the framework of the traditional democratic state. The rich home base of U.S. monopoly accounts to a large degree for its ability to grant concession when confronted with a powerful labor movement. But this maneuverability also arises from the favored world position of the United States throughout the imperialist era. Particularly in the period since World War II, when U.S. monopoly became by far the dominant power in world capitalism, the global position of the United States came to exert an extraordinary influence upon internal development.

With respect to the granting of concessions to decisive sectors of the workers, the world position of U.S. monopoly is felt in a number of ways. The central role of super-profits from colonial exploitation in creating a base for labor opportunism in Britain was already pointed out by Marx and Engels, and Lenin developed this explanation more completely for the period of matured imperialism. This was most pronounced with respect to the older imperialisms, with extensive colonial empires. In the new imperialism of the United States, characterized primarily by monopoly economic penetration abroad rather than outright colonialism, the role of super-profits of the imperialist type was somewhat disguised because they did not take the classical colonial form. Nevertheless, they came to play a very important role in providing an imperialist base for labor opportunism, especially in the more recent period.

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Since World War II, American capital investments abroad reached unprecedented levels, as U.S. monopoly extended its holdings and controls throughout the world capitalist and colonial structure. Profits from foreign investment came to account for at least 15 to 20 per cent of the total profit of all U. S. corporations. But 90 per cent of these foreign profits are held by the 200 largest corporations, and probably represent about one-fourth of their total profits, and in the case of oil and other minerals, well over half. This helps account fundamentally for the opportunism prevalent in the labor movement, particularly during the height of the cold war which was also the period of the most extensive and aggressive economic expansion by U.S. monopoly abroad.

The connection between imperialism and labor opportunism in the United States was established over a long period during which monopoly took advantage of the geographic security of the country in two devastating world wars to expand at home and abroad at the expense of rival powers weakened by war and by colonial revolutions. Exclusive U. S. imperialist control of Latin America and the extension of the U. S. monopoly structure into Canada (both also remote from the theaters of world war) gave American Big Business command over the rich natural resources of the entire Western Hemisphere. The relatively high wage structure of the United States rests to a large extent upon the super-exploitation of Latin American labor over a long period, and the command of Canadian resources, to which have been added in recent years new extensions of monopoly penetration -- in the Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia.

Obscured, but nonetheless real, are the additional huge super-profits obtained indirectly from the greatly expanded Wall St. investments in leading corporations of other imperialist powers (as in England, West Germany, Japan, etc.). An important role was also played in U. S. economic growth by the accumulation in this country of superior technology resulting from world scientific research and also of scientists, and technicians and skilled workers from abroad, when these could not be utilized in the lands of their origin because of certain local factors of deterioration as well as war.

These world factors, together with the rich home base, gave U. S. monopoly a wide range of maneuver with respect to labor, in terms of concessions on wages and conditions. In return, the dominant labor leadership -- the conservative as well as the liberal wing, each in its own way -- gave support to the cold war policies and to the splitting role of anti-Communism within the labor movement at home, as well as in the world trade union movement. The AFL has a long record in this respect. But the CIO, which had played a positive world role, together with the British trade unions led the walk-out from the World Federation of Trade Unions at the time when U.S. monopoly, through the Marshall Plan, was charting its course of aggressive expansionism. Simultaneously, the CIO initiated its own expulsion policy against Left-led unions in the United States, and took the lead in splitting the new Latin-American trade union movement, which it had previously helped unify. Both wings of the labor leadership have operated through the labor movement abroad to support Right-wing social-democracy against the peace forces and against the revolutionary colonial and democratic nationalist movement.

Changes which are proceeding in the domestic economy and on a world scale are beginning to undermine the base for the present class collaborationist policy in the labor movement. The relative slowing down of economic expansion and the growth of permanent unemployment are beginning to change the situation at home. The hardening of monopoly, on the one hand, and the re-emergence of rank and file militancy, on the other, are creating a crisis for the "class-partnership" leadership. The unfolding of present trends will lead to the growth of class struggle policies in the trade unions.

The acute contradictions in the world position of U.S. monopoly plays a decisive role in this respect. This contradiction deepens, as it becomes more and more difficult to attempt to solve the historic competition between the two world systems by war, as the national liberation movements place further restrictions upon monopoly expansion abroad, as labor and democratic movements in other capitalist countries defend their national sovereignty, and as inter-imperialist rivalries come forward more sharply.

Although monopoly may be forced to trim its sails in some respect in an extended period of peaceful co-existence, essentially it seeks to recompense itself from losses sustained on a world scale by stepping up its offensive against the workers at home and against the living conditions of the people as a whole. In this situation, greater mass struggles than in the past will be required to force concessions from monopoly, to protect the key positions of the trade unions, and to combat the austerity program of monopoly in general. The dominant labor leadership, under rank and file pressure, will be forced to seek new major concessions from monopoly. In

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new conditions of struggle, labor reformism may take other forms adapted to an advancing working class. But the key to progress will remain, as in the past, working class militancy and unity, on the political as well as on the economic front.

The direction and temper of these struggles will be greatly influenced by the factor of world socialism, particularly as the Soviet Union approaches its objectives of overtaking and surpassing American economic standards. There is no prospect that any leading capitalist country can even approximate the economic level of the United States. But the new competitive factor of the socialist world, with its well established potential for outproducing capitalism and, in the Soviet Union, surpassing the American standard of living within a decade or so, puts an entirely different light on the position of the American worker. The new basis of comparison with a socialist country can have the effect of encouraging the socialist consciousness of the American worker and his general class understanding. But as important as this factor may become, it can play but a supplementary role. The decisive role belongs to the American working class itself.

Accordingly, if there are to be new trade union advances on the economic and political fronts in face of the monopoly offensive, these must be sparked by a rekindled progressive and radical force, based on a reactivated and militant rank and file. Even on a new wave of mass struggle, trade union advances will not take place of themselves. What is required to give meaning and direction to a new labor upsurge is the emergence within the trade unions of a militant wing that will advocate a line of policy directed against monopoly and that will strive to develop the independent political role of labor as leader of a broad democratic front.

In the past, such a militant wing was always sparked by left-wingers with a socialist ideology and with class struggle perspectives, who were spokesmen for the rank and file movements. The greatest trade union progress was made when this leaven of radical workers in the mass movement led the fight for union democracy and working class unity, establishing common action with the middle and liberal forces against the old-line bureaucratic forces.

In the Communist view, such a combination of Left and Center forces on a common anti-monopoly program, weakening and isolating the Right in the labor movement, remains the key to trade union advance in the period ahead.

The basic thing in the trade union movement is the fight for higher wages and improved conditions. As the struggle sharpens on wages, hours, conditions, full employment and benefits it should be possible to make a much wider approach on the question of united action and unity. Militant workers pressing for these demands, and seeking agreement among the workers, can thus find the best means to overcome the barrier of "class partnership" policies, and advance the interests of the workers. Working class unity around the common needs of labor is the best ground on which class collaboration with monopoly can be defeated and new progress made. The new tasks and problems require an all-inclusive class unity -- Negro and white-- employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled, industrial and craft. Of vital importance is cooperation and joint action of various unions at the job level in single enterprises, leading to greater organizational unity and the overcoming of jurisdictional disputes, as well as an end to the expulsion policy, both of which can be fatal in the age of automation.

The anti-Communist bans in the trade unions, as well as any discrimination on account of ideology or political beliefs, can prove disastrous. The cold war period at its height showed how harmful to the labor movement was its retreat before the anti-Communist crusade, which gave monopoly the opportunity to impose further legislative restrictions upon the unions, to broaden government interference in their internal affairs under the pretext of fighting corruption and subversion, and in general to dampen the militancy of the workers. When progressives fight against the Communist bans in the unions they are fighting for the very health and unity of the trade unions. The promising prospects for peaceful co-existence and the new pressures for shifting from arms spending to social welfare spending, coupled with the rekindling of a militant spirit among the workers, are creating a more favorable atmosphere for denying to monopoly the use of anti-Communist as a weapon against labor. The setting aside of the anti-Communist bans in the unions is needed to release the full potential strength of the labor movement for the battles ahead.

In the fight for a broad working class policy of struggle against monopoly, it would be a serious mistake to lump together all class collaborationist elements, or for that matter to treat even the most outspoken among them on a par with monopoly itself. The struggle against class collaborationist policies should be

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based on the united struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, remembering that monopoly is the main enemy, and should be carried on as a strictly inner labor business. All interference from the outside should be opposed, whether directly from monopoly or from government. Within labor's ranks, differentiation needs to be made between those elements least responsive to the pressures of the rank and file and therefore more amenable to the policy of monopoly at a given time, and those elements which tend to move into opposition to monopoly policy under mass pressure. These positions are not given for all time. They tend to shift in response to the mass struggles, and crystallize for a given period under the impact of these struggles.

These positions are also affected by changes in production itself, due to new technology. Thus, the older differentiation between the craft and industrial unions tends to get blurred, particularly in the mass production industries, where the skilled craft workers are brought into closer relation with the mass production process and with the semi-skilled. At the same time, all are threatened by automation and unemployment, and new necessities are created for unity among all categories of workers, encompassing the new layer of technicians as well. Strong remnants of the old division remain, but the merged AFL-CIO basically reflects the process of change in the old craft unions, some of which are becoming semi-industrial in form, and the organic ties which are being created by modern industry among all layers of production workers. The tendency is for the further amalgamation of the craft and industrial form of organization, with the resulting capacity of labor to carry on its struggles on broader and all-inclusive industry fronts. This tendency should be speeded up by the action of the workers for amalgamation and unification, hand in hand with developing all forms and channels for effective rank and file participation in trade union affairs.

In the Communist view, the full potential of the powerful trade union movement can be felt in the struggle against monopoly at home only as labor simultaneously revives a firm spirit of international labor solidarity. As monopoly is rebuffed abroad by the forces of peace, national liberation and democracy, it sharpens its attack upon labor at home. By the same token, labor should learn that the strength of these world-wide forces provides an indirect but nonetheless extraordinary support to labor, the Negro people and all popular forces in their struggle against monopoly and reaction at home. As long as the labor movement does not cut itself loose from the aggressive expansionist foreign policies of monopoly, it will be caught in between the effective resistance to these policies abroad and the offensive of monopoly at home. But if labor learns to take full advantage of the opportunities for progress in the United States presented by the new world framework, and develops a policy of international solidarity with the forces of national liberation and social progress, it will be monopoly that is caught in between, and the American people will gain.

The Communists advocate international solidarity in the labor movement in order to advance the interests of the American working class, and to strengthen democracy and peace. They urge the reestablishment of a single world federation of labor to meet the common problems of workers everywhere. They urge support to the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, on the basis of a common struggle against imperialism and monopoly, and especially against the imperialist economic policies of U.S. monopoly anywhere in the world.

Particularly with respect to Latin America, U.S. labor has a great deal to gain from supporting the democratic, anti-imperialist advance taking place there. The combination of the struggles of the Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism with the struggle of the American working class against monopoly can be a powerful and irresistible force for progress in the Western Hemisphere.

Above all, the struggle for peace in its home and world aspects calls for the curbing of monopoly power. For this the American working class needs to develop a deeper understanding of the role of international labor solidarity among the workers of all nations, which can be decisive in guaranteeing the elimination of war from world affairs.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-K

## DISARMAMENT AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

(Report of Hyman Lumer, National Ed. Director, to 17th Nat'l Convention)

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Among the most far-reaching consequences of the Khrushchev visit to our shores is the impetus it has given to the demand for disarmament, not only in this country but throughout the world. His dramatic proposal for total universal disarmament in four years, made in his speech before the United Nations, has especially contributed to raising the issue of ending the arms race to one of first rank.

In this country, disarmament has become the subject of the most intense interest and discussion on all sides--not as an ideal whose realization is relegated to the remote future, but as a goal within actual reach. Today, conservative business publications discuss in all seriousness the prospect of cuts in military expenditures of 50% within a single year and devote much space to probing their consequences. In the pages of our daily newspapers, leading economists write extensively on the subject. And everywhere the question is being asked: What will be the effects of total disarmament? Will it bring depression and mass unemployment?

What prompts this question is the fact that since World War II, military expenditures have become a highly important factor in our economy. In 1939, they were less than 1½% of the national product. Even at their lowest point after the war, in 1947, they were nearly 5% of a substantially larger national product. During the Korean war they rose to 15%, and since then they have remained at about 10% of our total output. About 7-8% of the labor force is directly employed in military production. If we add those indirectly employed in connection with it, the total comes to about 15%.

Currently, arms outlays on a world scale total about \$100 billion. Of this, American outlays come to nearly half. Moreover, for a number of years, the United States has been exporting arms to other countries to the tune of some billions of dollars a year. For a number of years now we have been living under a permanent peacetime arms economy, and in what has been termed a "garrison state."

Whole communities have become economically dependent on arms industries. The 40-odd billions a year spent on arms is widely viewed as a necessary prop to the economy and a protection against crisis. And American workers have generally come to look upon arms production as a guarantee of jobs--the answer to unemployment.

But it is in reality none of these things. The American people have been made victims of a hoax.

THE NATURE OF ARMS ECONOMY

Military expenditure is a form of state monopoly capitalism--that is, of using the financial resources of the government to protect and augment monopoly profits, with the working people footing the bill. In other words, it is a way of using the state apparatus to increase the extraction of surplus values.

It is the form of government spending most preferable to big business. Its desirability to them lies first in the fact that it provides a guaranteed market which is also extremely profitable--as a rule much more so than civilian production. Thus, while profit on invested capital of the 500 biggest companies in 1957 averaged 11.4%, profits of the twelve largest recipients of military orders ranged from 14.1% to 21.3%. (*Fortune*, July, 1958). The actual rate of profit is often much higher than these figures show. If we take into account the fact that in the aircraft industry much of the plant and equipment has been built at government expense and turned over to private corporations to operate, profit rates have in a number of cases run at well over 100% -- a doubling of investment in a single year.

Second, the products, in view of their uselessness except for war, offer no competition with production for the civilian market. Third, since the basis presented for arms production is an alleged need to defend the country against aggression, workers can be induced to sacrifice for it, say in the form of higher taxes--something which they would not readily do for other purposes. And finally, it dovetails with monopoly capital's aggressive tendencies and aims. And the atmosphere of war hysteria which is the necessary justification for militarizing the economy is one which is conducive to McCarthyite political repression and an anti-labor drive. It is not surprising, therefore, that military expenditures have become by far the most extensive form of state monopoly capitalist operation, comprising well over half of the total federal budget.

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Economically, the significance of military expenditures lie in their utter wastefulness. They are as wasteful as if the goods were simply dumped into the ocean, or as if armies of men were put to work digging holes and then filling them up. Consequently, they serve especially well as a means of destroying the economic surplus which capitalism inevitably generates. In an economic crisis, the surplus is in large part destroyed, at the expense of the capitalists. In military production the same thing is accomplished to the profit of the capitalists and at the expense of the workers.

For what is wasted must be paid for by someone. The money which the government spends is obtained through taxation or borrowing. Either way, a share of civilian purchasing power is appropriated by the government and then redistributed through the military expenditures. And in the process the workers invariably come out on the short end.

They pay a disproportionate share of the heavy and growing burden of taxes. For example, a much higher share of personal income tax is paid by low-income groups today than before the war. And today the average worker pays out fully one-third of his earnings in taxes. As for government borrowing, it is chiefly the big corporations, banks and insurance companies which own the government bonds and collect the more than \$8 billion a year in interest on them. It is the working people who pay the major share of that interest, amounting to more than ten cents of every federal tax dollar.

Furthermore, since it destroys a part of the national wealth, the money spent on arms maintains a given level of demand without producing an equivalent supply of goods or services. It therefore leads to rising prices. And if the government, instead of borrowing from the existing money supply, finances its operations by printing additional money, this forces prices up still more. Either way, workers pay through inflated prices. Since 1946, consumer prices have risen by no less than 48%.

But working people pay not alone in high taxes and rising prices. They pay heavily in terms of the social services for which the money spent on arms could have been used, and of which they are deprived. This was dramatically expressed by none other than President Eisenhower himself, in a speech delivered in 1953. He said:

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies--in the final sense--a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.

This world in arms is not spending money alone.

It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities.

It is: two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population.

It is: two fine, fully-equipped hospitals.

It is: some 50 miles of concrete highway....

We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people. (Quoted from Lumer, War Economy and Crisis, p. 229.)

It would be well for the people to remind the President of these words.

More recently, the effects of the arms economy have been shown in a study presented in the AFL-CIO publication, Labor's Economic Review (June-July, 1959). Here a recent report prepared under the direction of General J. S. Bragdon, Special Assistant to President Eisenhower, is quoted as saying: "In almost every field in public works--hospitals, schools, civic centers, recreational facilities--shortages are the rule, not the exception. In almost every category we are falling farther and farther behind in meeting even current demands."

The study shows that whereas 100,000 classrooms a year are needed, only 60-70,000 are being built. The estimated need for public school construction is about \$4 billion a year; but only \$3 billion is being spent. Add to this the need of funds to raise teachers' salaries enough to attract competent teachers and end

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-K—Continued

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the growing shortage, or of funds for scholarships to enable the many talented young people to attend college who cannot now afford it.

We need two million new housing units a year; only 1.3 million are being constructed. We need more than 1,200,000 hospital beds a year; not much more than half this number are provided for. We need 5,000 public health centers, 15,000 diagnostic or treatment centers, 500 rehabilitation centers for the handicapped. We need 20 new medical schools now, and an equal number of dental schools in the next ten years. We need far more money for medical research.

And so on.

The study manages somehow to avoid mentioning the fact that it is because of the huge burden of spending for arms that we cannot "afford" these things, and that the money now being thrown away on instruments of destruction would more than cover the costs of these vital social needs.

To be sure, military expenditures offer a temporary stimulus to the economy. Large-scale war production provides an outlet for capital which, because of limited markets, cannot be so profitably invested in civilian production. In this way, a decline in capital investment can be temporarily arrested. But once the given level of military production is reached, this shot-in-the-arm effect wears off, and increased outlays are required to revive it. In addition, though it may temporarily keep the economy in a state of boom, it does so only by intensifying the underlying factors making for crisis.

The large-scale military outlays of the postwar years have not sufficed to prevent the outbreak of three economic slumps and a rising level of unemployment. And they have resulted in the persistence of a huge national debt, higher today than at the end of the war, which creates difficulties in further borrowing and greatly reduces the margin of safety in the event of a crisis. In fact the per capita national debt and in the world.

Nor is the stimulus of arms spending one which cannot be produced better, from the viewpoint of the working people, in other ways. If the money is actually spent on arms rather than for other purposes, the basic reason is political rather than economic. The arms economy grew out of the cold war, out of the aggressive designs of Wall Street. To change it, therefore, requires a political struggle on the part of the workers for such a change, as well as for monopoly to foot the bill.

Finally, war economy is inseparable from war. It can be maintained, as we have stated, only on the grounds that war threatens. John Foster Dulles, in a book written many years ago, expressed it very bluntly: He wrote:

In order to bring a nation to support the burdens incident to maintaining great military establishments, it is necessary to create an emotional state akin to war psychology. There must be the portrayal of an external menace. (War, Peace, and Change, 1931.)

#### ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF DISARMAMENT

What would be the actual effects of a steep reduction in arms spending? What if the forty-odd billions now devoted to this purpose were to be cut off, say within the next year? Would the bottom fall out of the economy?

Some have argued that it would. They visualize several million now engaged in arms production being thrown out of work, plus nearly three million more being released from the armed forces into a glutted labor market. This would, according to some estimates, raise the number of jobless to some 15 million, or well over 20% of the labor force.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-K—Continued

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Business Reaction to Cuts

Generally, big business views any threatened cut in arms outlays with alarm, as a harbinger of economic decline. The "peace jitters" in Wall Street with every development toward world peace, however slight, are a familiar phenomenon.

Today, however, some are taking a more optimistic view of the matter, basing themselves on the possibility of very steep tax cuts, raising the base of both consumer demand and capital investment to new peaks. Illustrative of this is an article in the U. S. Chamber of Commerce Publication Nation's Business for October, 1959, entitled "What Peace Would Do To You." The article states: "Any abrupt softening of cold war pressures--if it comes--can bring this country a boom, not the recession suggested by such phrases as 'peace scare'."

It would, the article argues, bring a rise in consumer goods spending far exceeding the cut in military spending, and concentrated in consumer durables. And because of the shift from military goods production, it would bring an upsurge in spending for new plant and equipment for consumer goods. Hence the state of the economy would be greatly improved. The same line of argument has appeared in U.S. News and World Report and other publications.

As we shall see, such predictions of a virtually automatic boom are unfounded. But the dire foreboding of an economic crash are equally unwarranted. They fail to take the entire picture into account, including various possible counter-acting factors. History shows that a sharp drop in arms expenditure need not result in a major crisis. To be sure, the War of 1812, the Civil War and World War I were followed by depressions of some severity. But World War II was not, contrary to widespread expectations based on previous experience. Here, with effective price controls and rationing during the war, a large backlog of demand, both for capital and consumer goods, was built up. This, together with certain other consequences of the war, led to a period of rising national income, followed by nothing more severe than the relative mild 1948-49 crisis. And this despite a drop of some \$77 billion in military outlays between 1944 and 1947, \$57 billion of it in 1946 alone.

It is therefore dangerous to generalize; each situation must be judged in the light of the existing circumstances. A sharp decline in military expenditures today would find not a backlog of deferred civilian demand but excess capacity already existing in civilian goods industries, and more than 5% of the labor force already unemployed. At the same time the total drop in arms expenditures would not be nearly as great as after World War II.

But what is particularly important is the fact that such a drop would also lay the basis for important offsetting effects, made possible by the freeing of the enormous sums previously spent on arms.

First of all, it would make possible very substantial tax cuts which would considerably raise consumer purchasing power. If the present arms budget were reduced to half--a cut of about \$23 billion--and half of this in turn were allocated to a cut in federal income taxes, it would reduce the total of these by nearly 20%. If the cut were confined to personal income taxes, it would reduce these by 30%. And if it were concentrated among the low-income group, millions of workers would be freed of the payment of income taxes altogether. This rise in purchasing power would provide a base for a substantial growth of production and employment in the consumer goods industries, and help to absorb the men and women released from the armed forces and military production.

Second, the funds released could be used for productive purposes--education, health, housing, old age benefits, etc.--which would also serve to raise living standards and mass purchasing power, and to provide jobs. The cost of thirty missiles--about \$1 billion--would provide 200 hospitals or 100 power plants, and would make available many more jobs than would the production of the missiles. Less than 20% of present military appropriations would provide half a million houses a year, and employment for more than 800,000 workers in building and allied trades. In fact, the \$46 billion a year now going down the drain would be more than enough, in addition to a good-sized tax cut, to provide all the unfulfilled social needs outlined above, as well as to bring the economic level of the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers up to the national average.

Moreover, the huge sums now spent on military research could be used to finance research for useful purposes. A fraction of these expenditures invested in research on heart disease and cancer, for example, would go far toward eliminating these as the number one and number two killers they now are. The development of peacetime uses of atomic energy would be greatly speeded up. And not least, the ending of the present secrecy of scientific and technical work would offer a tremendous stimulus to scientific advance.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-K--Continued

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Third, the money now used to ship arms abroad as "military aid" could be used for genuine economic assistance to undeveloped countries, in the form of long-term credits at low interest for the purpose of industrialization. This would raise living standards in these countries and provide greatly enlarged markets for American exports.

Fourth, the easing of world tensions which is the basis for disarmament would likewise open the doors to ending the embargo on trade with the socialist world. The potential volume of such trade is large enough to make it a factor of major importance to the American economy. In 1958, American exports to the Soviet Union amounted to less than \$5 million. Considering that the Soviet population is equal in size to those of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and the Netherlands combined, if we were to export to it on the same basis as we now do to these five countries, the total value of such exports would be no less than \$3 billion a year. It is interesting to note that Cyrus Eaton has arrived at a similar estimate. If we add to this the potential volume of trade with People's China and the Eastern European people's democracies, the present volume of American exports could be augmented by at least one-third--an increase which would provide a considerable number of added jobs.

Summarizing these points in his speech to the United Nations, Premier Khrushchev concluded: "The claims that disarmament would bring on a crisis or economic recession in the highly developed industrial countries of the capitalist world are accordingly unfounded."

This is quite true. But by the same token, neither will disarmament eliminate crises, any more than an arms economy will do so. The source of the boom-bust cycle lies much deeper in the economy, and neither arming nor disarming is a panacea against it.

Certainly, there is no assurance that disarmament will automatically give rise to a boom, as Nation's Business contends. With considerable excess productive capacity already existing, it would take a big jump in consumer goods spending indeed to stimulate new investment to any considerable degree. Moreover, there is nothing automatic about the extent to which consumer purchasing power will be increased, nor about the realization of the beneficial effects of disarmament generally by the working people. Compelled to accommodate themselves to growing prospects of peace and a consequent growing inability to maintain an arms economy as the principal means of bolstering their profits, the monopolies will seek by other means to protect them at the expense of the people. If there is to be a tax out, they will strive to make sure it is they who get the benefit of it. If government funds are to be spent for purposes other than arms, they will demand they be spent so as to benefit big business. (A favorite measure is road-building, which is highly profitable in the construction and, in the case of toll roads, in the operation. And they will fight tooth and nail against government spending for low-cost housing or power projects, as infringing on the sacred domain of private enterprise. At the same time, they will call upon the workers to sacrifice and work harder in the name of meeting an alleged Soviet economic "threat." The working people can benefit from disarmament, therefore, only to the extent that they are successful in fighting to do so.

Of course, in some areas where war industries are predominant (especially where large aircraft plants are the chief source of jobs), disarmament would create problems of unemployment, at least temporarily. In some cases (for example, aluminum electronics), the product can be used for peacetime purposes with little or no conversion, given an expansion of civilian markets; other industries such as aircraft, however, would either have to convert to new products or drastically curtail operations.

For the workers in such areas, there would indeed be serious difficulties. But these would not be new. Such problems already exist as a consequence of the decline of employment in such industries as coal mining, decentralization and run-away plants, which have given rise to depressed areas marked by chronic unemployment, areas whose number is growing even with large-scale military expenditures. Furthermore, employment in certain key war industries is falling despite rising arms budgets. For example, the growing weight given to missile production--an experimental and pilot operation which absorbs many dollars but few production workers--has meant a drop in orders for conventional aircraft, and in employment in the aircraft industry. Thus, from the last quarter of 1956 to May, 1959, the number employed fell by 117,000 or nearly 14%. And this number has been further swelled as a result of recent large cancellations of military orders.

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These situations require a program of government assistance for the rehabilitation of industry and for publicworks in such areas, as well as increased unemployment compensation, debt and mortgage moratoriums, job retraining, assistance in relocation and other measures designed to aid the workers affected and their families. Such a program is needed now, and is in fact, being advocated by organized labor today. With disarmament it could be more readily carried out, since some of the money saved on arms could be used for the purpose. Certainly, these problems would be no less capable of solution in a peacetime economy than in a war economy -- to the extent that they can be resolved at all in a capitalist economy.

Problems would also be created by the sudden addition to the civilian labor force of some 3 million men and women released from the armed forces. Here, the payment of unemployment benefits to such veterans, along the lines of the \$2-20 payments after World War II, would help materially to meet the situation.

Not least, special steps are needed to aid the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers, who, being last hired and first fired, would be subjected to special hardship.

In addition, some assistance would have to be given to small business enterprises affected, in the form of tax credits or financial aid.

These things, too, will not be won without a struggle. In short, disarmament will not abolish the contradictions of capitalism. It will not remedy the basic instability of the American economy and the growing insecurity of American workers. It will not of itself bring about a Utopia in which jobs and prosperity are assured.

However, this in no way negates its enormous import for the American working people. Disarmament will remove the principal obstacle to reduction of taxes and improvement of social welfare. It will vastly increase the possibilities of winning major economic and social advances and of realizing in some measure the tremendous promises held forth by modern science and technology. If we add to this the incalculable blessing of living in freedom from the fear of nuclear war, as well as the eradication of the reactionary atmosphere of war hysteria, intimidation and repression of the cold war years, there can be no doubt that, whatever profit an arms economy may bring to big business, the working people are infinitely better off without it.

Nor is this confined to the United States alone. Disarmament is a world process, and on a world scale it can pave the way for a far-reaching transformation. In his outstanding book, *World Without War*, the eminent British scientist J. D. Bernal states: "It is not only possible but practicable to raise the standard of living of all the world, within a generation, to that enjoyed by the people in the most favored countries today." This, he says, requires one proviso...that war is avoided. Not only must there be no fighting but something must be done to stop the present state of continuous war preparation and threats of war, a waste of human resources and human intelligence that is holding back the whole development of science itself and blocking its useful application." (p. 2)

DISARMAMENT NOT ASSURED

But it is not only the benefits of disarmament which must be fought for. Though disarmament has become a central issue, the fight to achieve it still lies ahead. Even the initial steps are yet to be won.

To be sure, there is a body of sentiment which takes disarmament with some seriousness. For example, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey recently stated that he believes the Soviet leadership is serious in its proposals, and that we must make preparations so that disarmament will not cause a setback. But the fact is that the cold war has not been abandoned, and this means in the main a continuation of pressures for big arms budgets.

For the past several years, arms expenditures have been rising; since 1959, they have gone up at an average rate of about \$1.4 billion a year (from \$39.1 billion in 1955 to an average annual rate of \$46 billion in the first three quarters of 1959). And this in the face of repeated declarations by Eisenhower that military expenditures were to be held down.

At the same time, there has been extensive pressure for still greater increases. A report of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, issued last year, calls for a rate of increase of \$3 billion a year for the next several years. The unpub-

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-K—Continued

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lished Gaither Report projected a rise to \$65 billion a year by 1963. Still other proposals envisage a rise within the next few years to outlays of as much as \$75 billion annually.

In this, the top Democratic Party leadership has joined. Thus, in mid-1959 the Advisory Council of the Democratic National Committee urged a program adding up to \$3 billion more per year. ("The Military Forces We Need and How to Get Them," Democratic Digest, July, 1959). An equal clamor has gone up from the top labor leadership which, like the Democratic Party spokesmen, has repeatedly charged the Eisenhower Administration with sacrificing the country's defense. So, too, have liberal economists like Leon Keyserling, whose proposed "National Prosperity Budget" includes provision for greatly enhanced arms outlays. He writes: "There would also be room in such a budget to lift our national security outlays in accord with the judgment of the best qualified experts..." (Conference on Economic Progress, Inflation: Cause and Cure, June, 1959.)

Nor have these pressures lessened since the Khrushchev visit. The position of the Democratic Party spokesmen, the labor leadership and the liberal economists remains essentially unchanged so far. So does that of a Nelson Rockefeller and other important representatives of monopoly. And within the Administration itself, the State and Defense Departments only recently urged Eisenhower to raise his request for foreign military aid in the budget for fiscal 1961 from the \$1.3 billion figure proposed by him to \$2 billion.

The Eisenhower proposals, on the other hand, call not for cuts in military expenditures, but merely for keeping them at present levels. And even this, moreover, is little more than propaganda looking to the 1960 elections. As James Reston puts it (New York Times, November 13, 1959): "The Administration has embarked on a 'peace program' and does not want it to coincide with increased military expenditures. It is talking disarmament. It wants to go into the 1960 presidential political campaign as the party of 'peace and fiscal responsibility.'" (Our emphasis.) In practice, Eisenhower, as in the past, proves not averse to proposed increases. Thus, he has yielded to the State Department\* and Pentagon pressures for higher foreign military aid appropriations.

Generally, the idea of disarmament of any serious kind continues to be regarded as something unreal. A recent expression of what is the prevailing big business view was given only recently by Westinghouse Electrical Corporation president Mark W. Cressap, Jr. Advocating long-range as against "crash" arms programs, he said:

A stable, long-range continuing defense program is preparation for peace. It is essential for our survival....

We need a stable and continuing military program because in the years and decades ahead we Americans are going to be faced with the roughest kind of competition from peoples of demonstrated caliber and accomplishment. In this competition there is no second chance and no margin for error. (New York Times, September 25, 1959.)

In short, the road to peace continues to be viewed as lying in arming ourselves to the teeth for the indefinite future. For large sections of big business, this is, of course, the road to greater profits as well both here and abroad. Thus, American arms manufacturers are today pouring large sums into reviving the West German arms industries. Relying on a continued policy of rearming that country as Wall Street's chief European outpost, companies like General Electric, American Motors, Lockheed, General Dynamics, to name but a few, are buying heavily into West German firms with arms contracts.

New York Times writer Hanson W. Baldwin frankly regards disarmament as "pie in the sky." He writes (November 8, 1959):

...the agreements so far lie largely in the realm of semantics and of pious hopes, and the disagreements are of fundamental substantive importance. Despite almost fifteen years of effort, there has been no progress in the limitation of arms, much less in "universal disarmament."

He goes on to say that "...Mr. Khrushchev's glittering goal of 'universal and complete' disarmament is a mirage, a psychological come-on."

The cold-war mentality dies hard.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-K—Continued

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Just as there are as yet no serious moves toward actual reduction of arms, so also is there no sign of easing the restrictions on American-Soviet trade.

Last June, Premier Khrushchev made a bid for the purchase of \$100,000,000 worth of American chemical and other industrial equipment, an offer he repeated during his visit. The offer was rejected by Eisenhower when it was first made, and again after Khrushchev's visit.

Rockefeller has chimed in with a demand that the Soviet Union be required to "comply with Western trading rules" as a condition for trade -- to pay in hard currencies and to "stop dumping goods" abroad. In November the Commerce Department refused export licences for the sale of \$15.6 million worth of stainless steel to the Soviet Union, as well as nearly \$177,800 worth of chemicals. The Manufacturing Chemists Association flatly rejected the Soviet bid to buy chemical plants and processes, part of the \$100 million offer, because this would allegedly give the Soviet Union the advantage of valuable technological shortcuts.

Clearly, here too the cold-war mentality prevails. The fight for restoration of trade, like that for disarmament, is yet to be won.

FIGHT FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

If any real advance is to be made in the direction of disarmament, therefore, the extensive sentiment for it among the American people must find organized expression, reflecting the widest unity of all who desire peace and an end to the arms race. Above all, the main leadership of organized labor must be brought to abandon its present suicidal policy of aggressive promotion of cold-war policies and repeated demands for bigger arms budgets.

At the same time, it is necessary to expose the hoax so long perpetrated on American workers, that arms production is the answer to unemployment, and to launch a fight for economic alternatives to the arms economy. Of primary importance is lifting the embargo on trade with the socialist countries and the widest expansion of such trade. It is also essential to project now a program calling for tax reductions for those in the low income brackets, for plans for a vast expansion of social welfare of those subjected to loss of jobs and income in the process of reducing arms production, and especially of the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers. Finally, it is necessary to project the perspective of an economy of total disarmament--an economy directed toward the realization of the vast potential which peace and disarmament would make possible.

To be sure, the full realization of this potential requires more than the ending of war; it requires the victory of socialism. But the fight for peace and total disarmament can lead to very substantial improvements in the lot of the working class. And the grand vista of total, universal disarmament in the space of four years, opened up by Khrushchev in his United Nations speech, offers a shining goal for which to fight. In such a fight, we Communists must be found in the very front ranks.

# # #

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-L

RESOLUTION ON THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND  
THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE MONOPOLISTS \*

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## I. INTRODUCTION

As we approach the decade of the sixties, mankind stands at the threshold of a new era. For the first time in human history the possibility now exists for the elimination of the scourge of war and the release of the full productive potential of the human race for the solution of the age-old problems of poverty, disease and ignorance. These new possibilities have been created by profound and irreversible changes in favor of the camp of peace, freedom and social progress.

World imperialism, heeded by Wall Street monopoly capitalism, is no longer the sole or dominant force determining the destiny of mankind. Socialism, embracing one-third of the earth's population, has emerged as an invincible world system, spearheading the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence. The victorious upsurge of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has undermined imperialist colonialism and kindled the flame of national independence among all oppressed peoples. The mounting peace movement in our country, and throughout the capitalist world, has gained new strength and momentum. Thus, even the new forms by which U.S. imperialism hopes to continue its drive for world power and influence are now confronted by the powerful challenge of superior world forces determined to win a durable and lasting peace.

The dominant world position of United States monopoly capitalism, long uncontested, is now being increasingly challenged on all sides by its capitalist competition, by the expanding group of newly liberated countries, and most of all, by the socialist world, which now bids to surpass the achievements of U. S. capitalism in all areas of human endeavor.

Our capitalist society is plagued by a mounting accumulation of unsolved and insoluble problems. Its economy displays a growing shakiness and instability. Automation and other technological advances create growing insecurity, chronic unemployment and fear of the future. Uneaseable farm surpluses rise from year to year, while farm incomes are declining. The national debt, already overburdening, continues to mount, and the difficulty of financing the war economy increases. The burdens of interest and taxes become ever more intolerable. Rising prices have become a persistent problem.

Even as the possibilities of peace are enhanced, and important sectors of business and government are compelled to move away from the rigid war policy, the reactionary offensive on the domestic front has been accelerated. In place of the growth of freedom, there is continued repression and denial of elementary liberties. The infamous Landrum-Griffin bill has been passed, fastening new and more powerful shackles on organized labor than did the Taft-Hartley Act. The steel companies are spearheading a drive of all the great monopolies aimed against the living standards and working conditions of the workers. Monopoly unites in an effort to resolve its problems at the expense of the working class.

Despite certain advances in the struggle for Negro rights, the system of Jim Crow oppression remains essentially unshaken. Unrestricted suffrage and Negro representation in the South, and the eradication of racist discrimination and segregation in national life, remain a central democratic task still to be achieved.

Our educational system is in a state of deepening crisis. Juvenile delinquency grows steadily worse. Slums and overcrowding are the lot of the low-income groups in all cities of the country. In every aspect of American life, the problems and difficulties become not less but greater.

It is the all-powerful monopoly capitalist groups, with their striving to preserve their outworn system of "free enterprise," which stand as the central obstacle to progress. It is monopoly capital which blocks the fulfillment of the great promise which the future holds, and which breeds the menace of peace and fosters insecurity and repression. It is monopoly capital and its agents which must be opposed by the American working class, the Negro people and all peace-loving and democratic forces to realize the potential of a new era of peace, democracy and security.

The decade ahead can be the decade in which mankind is liberated from the peril of the cold war and the threat of catastrophic nuclear warfare.

\* The basic content of the resolution on the Negro question and on trade union problems should be considered as a part of this resolution.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-L—Continued

Main Res. - 2 -

It can be the decade in which fatal blows are inflicted on the oppression of the Negro people which has defiled our land for more than three centuries.

It can be the decade in which the offensive to depress the standards of living of the working class and to destroy labor's rights is defeated by a united labor movement and a revitalized alliance of labor and the Negro people.

It can be the decade in which the American people, united in a great people's alliance consisting of labor, the Negro people, the farmers, small businessmen and all those threatened by the big monopolies takes major strides toward the attainment of a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The Communist Party, the party of the American working class, faces this new decade with supreme confidence that these goals can be won, and to this we American Communists dedicate all our efforts and energies.

## II. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

Peace is the urgent objective, the common need and common hope of people everywhere. Heretofore this has been a dream deferred, an elusive aspiration, passed down from generation to generation. Now the conditions have matured for transforming this dream into reality, into a way of life for all the nations of the world. For peace has become a necessary condition for the very existence and further development of human society, just as war with modern methods of annihilation has become unthinkable. The peaceful coexistence of nations with differing economic and social systems, and competition between them for peaceful pursuits, is the sole alternative to an atomic catastrophe.

Everything in the needs, hopes and aspirations of our people finds its relationship to this central issue of our times--the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence.

The fate of world peace today depends in the first place upon the improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two most powerful countries, with their immense economic, technological and military potential. If the relations between our country and the Soviet Union are normalized, if they cooperate in the maintenance of peace, then the peace of the world can be kept inviolate.

That is why the extraordinary visit of Premier Khrushchev to our country and the projected visit of President Eisenhower to the Soviet Union, the significant talks at Camp David and the agreement "that all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiations" inspired the people of our country and the whole world with the highest hopes for peace.

These events mark the first salient break from the disastrous and discredited Dulles policy of atomic threats and "brinkmanship," signaling an important change in the direction of improvement of U.S. - Soviet relations. They have brought about a thaw in the international climate. Understanding has been reached on direct meetings between the heads of government, as well as discussions at the summit, as the method to be pursued in the search for agreement on outstanding disputed international questions. The resolution of such grave problems as the signing of a peace treaty with the two German states and normalizing the situation in Berlin can now proceed in a vastly improved international atmosphere.

Most significant for the struggle to realize peaceful coexistence have been the proposals for universal and total disarmament, placed before the United Nations by Premier Khrushchev. This has now become the key issue and main subject of debate in every country of the world. For universal and total disarmament, depriving all countries of the means of waging war, is in the long run the only true guarantee for an enduring peace. A peace-time economy as an alternative to arms production and the threat of an atomic war, an economy providing greatly expanded social welfare benefits and higher living standards is regarded as a realistic hope by ever greater numbers of Americans.

The Khrushchev visit has already produced important immediate results in a number of areas: the conclusion of a two-year agreement for an expanded cultural exchange program; the joint agreement for cooperation in nuclear research and the exchange of scientific and research information; the agreement for the study of the detection of underground nuclear explosions; the agreement for joint medical research projects; the treaty to keep Antarctica a scientific preserve; the more favorable conditions created for reaching an agreement on the banning of nuclear testing, and for the abolition of the artificially-imposed restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist lands.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-L--Continued

Main Res. - 3

Above all, these developments create new opportunities for the peace forces to impose further shifts in foreign policy, which will lead in the direction of realizing more fully the great potential inherent in the present situation. Important business and government interests have been compelled to realize the epochal changes in the existing world relationship of forces and the need to adopt a more realistic foreign policy. This does not signify, however, that the Eisenhower administration has yet embarked on a firm course to end the cold war, nor that peaceful coexistence has been achieved and secured.

The thaw in the cold war has begun, but the cold war is far from ended. The proponents of the cold war are still powerful and strive to return to the bankrupt policy of "positions of strength" and to the frozen pattern of the past. Its advocates are to be found within the Administration, and in both major political parties (as symbolized by the Republican Rockefeller and the Democrat Acheson). They are in control of the Pentagon, of the huge armament industries and other giant financial trusts who continue to exert maximum pressure to maintain and heat up the cold war.

Already a counter-offensive has been launched to undo all that has been accomplished. There are renewed demands on the part of the top brass and leading statesmen for increased war expenditures to meet a concocted "Soviet challenge" or "Soviet aggression." Opposition to expansion of US-Soviet trade, voiced by the billionaire Rockefeller, is followed by the rejection of a large Soviet steel order. The incense hostility to People's China is fostered by continuous incitement against China in India, Laos, Tibet and Korea. The provocative insistence on the discussion of Hungary by the United Nations was designed to inflame further the cold-war attitudes. The nuclear rearmament of West Germany, aimed to transform it into Wall Street's main arsenal in Europe, flaunts both the will of the people and international agreements. The shameful interference in the internal affairs of Cuba and the threat of economic strangulation by manipulating sugar quotas is aimed not only against the Cuban revolution but against the anti-imperialist freedom struggle in all of Latin America.

The bellicose cold war advocates are determined to halt the trend toward peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition, and, even as events force them drastically to alter their past cold war policies, they attempt to continue their drive for new forms of world domination.

The replacement of the cold war policy by a policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union for peace demands the defeat of these cold war advocates, these most rabid and aggressive sections of Big Business and their agents in government.

Despite their efforts to head off a far-reaching policy of peaceful coexistence and competition, the very fact that they are confronted with the compulsion of carrying through a shift in their foreign policy opens the way for a tremendous upsurge of the forces working for peace.

Above all, the times demand an unrelenting struggle on the part of all sections of the people who desire peace, in the first place the labor movement. They require a many-sided struggle, whose base lies not in the formation of some new, all-embracing peace organization but in the great diversity of existing people's organizations

Labor will assume its rightful place of leadership in the people's interests only when it takes the lead in the fight for peace. It must not be forgotten that the top officialdom of the labor movement remains largely tied to the bankrupt cold war policy and continues to advocate a crash program to expand armaments under the guise of providing jobs. It is a welcome sign of the changes taking place, however, that representative publications and individual leaders of organized labor are coming forward on their own and calling for disarmament, for a peacetime economy, for the exchange of delegations with the Soviet trade unions, for an end to nuclear testing and the outlawing of atomic weapons. These beginnings must permeate the ranks of the entire labor movement, so that labor can help to broaden the united mass struggles of all peace-loving forces to impose the people's will for peace upon our government.

The Negro people have a particular and added stake in the fight for peace, for the reactionary cold war atmosphere fosters chauvinism and national oppression, and the fight against Jim Crow can most effectively be carried on in an atmosphere of peace and friendship among nations.

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The women of our country, who are forced to bear so much of the burden of suffering inflicted by war and preparations for war, have a special part in the fight for peace. So, too, do the youth, whose lives are disrupted by the draft and who are called on to sacrifice their lives in war.

The changing moods and temper of the people of our country point to new possibilities for unfolding broad mass actions around every specific issue related to the struggle for peace. Just as the ruling class yesterday was successful in convincing the people to accept the heavy burden of the cold war as a "deterrent" to "Soviet aggression," so today a breakdown in this artificially created war hysteria can help to unleash the full potential of the people's fighting capacity to demand an end to the cold war.

The Khrushchev visit, and the ensuing easing of world tensions, has, of course, not dissipated all the prejudices and misconceptions about the Soviet Union. What must be underscored, however, is that a new spirit of friendship for the Soviet Union, a new admiration for its scientific and technological achievements, a new understanding that we can live together, is spreading among men and women in all walks of life. To the extent that this understanding is heightened, the movement for peace will again gain greater purposefulness, greater unity and greater determination.

Life, not death! Production for peace and not for destruction! Peace and friendship among nations! An end to international mistrust! An end to the cold war! For a policy of peace and peaceful existence!

These noble aims demand a fight against the resumption of nuclear testing and for a ban on the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons.

They demand a fight to end the peacetime draft and compulsory military training.

They demand a fight for the recognition of People's China and its rightful membership in the United Nations.

They demand a fight for expanded East-West trade.

They demand a fight against U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba and other Latin-American countries, and solidarity with the cause of national independence everywhere.

Above all, they demand a fight for disarmament, for the scrapping of all instruments of warfare and a shift to an economy of peace. And they demand peaceful competition between nations in expanding world production to improve the living standards of the world's peoples.

The issue of peace is the paramount issue in American political life. It is the central test of all parties, mass organizations and civil leaders. On the resolution of this issue rests the future of our nation.

The eyes and hopes of all peoples are focused on the United States. Upon the outcome of the now unfolding struggle for a policy of peace in our land may hinge the fate of mankind.

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### III. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION: FOR AN ECONOMY OF PEACE

The American economy is once again on the upgrade. Production and employment are rising, and evidence of a new boom are widespread. But the upsurge rests on a shaky foundation.

Despite the relative prosperity of the period since the war, the most striking feature of the postwar American economy is its growing instability. Since World War II, there have been three slumps, of which the third was much the most severe. From each of these the economy has recovered at the cost of a higher level of public and private debt, a greater residue of unemployment and other features making for future crises of greater severity. And despite current high levels of production and employment, the outlook is being widely expressed in business, labor and economic circles, that within a year or two the economy will again stagnate and decline and the privations visited on the working people in 1958 will reappear.

In these slumps, especially the most recent one, the big corporations have used their economic power to maintain high monopoly prices and, through extension

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of automation and speedup, to protect their profits. The monopolies today are steadily extending their control over the economic life of our nation and the direction of government affairs. The growing rash of corporate mergers is increasing the concentration of economic and political power in their hands, and is accentuating the growth of state monopoly capitalism.

In response to the growing competition from other capitalist countries, Big Business is stepping up its efforts to hold wages down and is intensifying its attacks on working conditions.

For the working class, the main consequences of all this have been mounting insecurity and the growth of chronic mass unemployment. The heaviest blows have been inflicted on the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers, as well as on youth and women.

This process is aggravated by the accelerated automation and relocation of industrial plants now under way, which confronts the American working class--skilled and unskilled, Negro and white--with new and mounting problems of joblessness and insecurity, and which is converting a growing number of major industrial centers into distressed areas marked by widespread chronic unemployment. Moreover, the costs of these developments are being largely borne by the working people through tax rebates to the big corporations by the federal, state and local governments.

For millions of small farmers, long caught in a cost price squeeze, rising monopoly prices and cold-war inflation have reduced the margin between costs and returns to the vanishing point. Tens of thousands of small owners, croppers and tenants have been swept off the land. In the rural South and elsewhere, acute privation and suffering is the lot of millions of Americans.

Of cardinal importance for the American working class is the fight for jobs--above all, the fight for the thirty-hour week, as well as for greatly improved unemployment compensation and other measures for the protection of jobless workers. These are directly related to the struggles against the efforts of the monopolies to hold wages down, to worsen working conditions, and to inflict ever higher prices on the workers and farmers. The basis of these struggles is unity of labor, the small farmers, the Negro people and small business in the battle against the economic gouging of the trusts.

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Since the end of World War II, Big Business has utilized the federal government to impose a war economy, to foster anti-Soviet hysteria as a basis for sustaining the cold-war budget and the nuclear arms race, and to militarize industry, science and education. All this has served as a means of looting the federal treasury for the enrichment of the missile manufacturers, the oil and chemical trusts and other sections of monopoly.

The bipartisan cold-war economy has swollen government debt at all levels to mountainous proportions. It has placed a colossal burden of interest payments on the taxpayers and has led to an intolerable tax load for the average American. Cold-war embargoes have disrupted foreign trade, with a considerable loss of sales for American manufacturers and a consequent loss of jobs for American workers.

The pouring of billions into a totally wasteful war economy has contributed greatly to inflationary price increases which victimize the working people, and especially those families (government employees, pensioners, veterans, welfare cases and others) with fixed incomes. And because of the economic burdens of the cold war, housing, health, education and other social welfare appropriations have been slashed; and many many federal responsibilities have been shifted to states and localities, which are unable to meet them.

The arms economy has come to be accepted by many Americans as a necessary economic prop, a means of warding off crises and an answer to the problem of jobs. But it is in a real sense none of these things. Thus, we have had three economic slumps and rising unemployment since the war despite the huge sums spent on arms.

However profitable military spending may be to Big Business, the American working people will be far better off without it. Disarmament will make possible a very substantial reduction of the present enormous tax load. It will release the immense sums now being thrown down the drain, to be used for productive purposes--for the schools, hospitals, homes, power projects, and the recreational and other facilities which are so badly needed. The replacement of the present foreign

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military "aid" with genuine economic assistance in the industrialization of undeveloped countries will create big new markets for American goods. And the ending of the cold-war trade embargo will open up added markets for American exports to the tune of billions of dollars a year.

All this will serve greatly to raise living standards and mass purchasing power, and to provide far more jobs than are now to be found in military production. Even more, with disarmament will come an end to the terrible menace of nuclear war, and to the atmosphere of war hysteria which has served as the excuse for political repression and attacks on labor's rights, in the name of an alleged need for "defending our country."

Disarmament will not do away with economic crises, which are inherent in capitalism itself. It will, however, open the doors to a great advance in the living standards and social welfare of the American working people.

But these things will not come of themselves. Just as disarmament itself will not be won without a fight, neither will its benefits for the people. Big Business, compelled to give up arms production as a means of bolstering its profits, will seek other ways of using government funds for that purpose. It will demand that its taxes be cut, not those of the workers. It will seek forms of government spending which line its pockets, and will oppose spending for the needs of the people. And they will demand that workers sacrifice more and work harder, now in the name of meeting an alleged Soviet economic "threat." The people will win these benefits, therefore, only to the extent that they successfully fight for these.

The hoax that war economy is the road to prosperity and jobs, so long perpetrated on the American people, must be exposed, and a fight for economic alternatives to arms production must be waged. The trade embargo should be lifted and steps taken to expand trade with all the socialist countries, including China, to the utmost. A program for an economy of peace should be projected, calling for reduction of taxes for those in the low-income brackets, for a vast expansion of social welfare expenditures, for adequate measures to protect those subjected to loss of jobs and income in the process of disarmament, with special consideration to the plight of Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers.

And finally, we must project before the American people the grand vista of an economy of total disarmament, and seek to unite all sections of the people, above all organized labor, in a great struggle for its achievement.

## IV. THE PEOPLE VERSUS THE TRUSTS

1. The Reactionary Offensive

At the very same time that international tensions have been eased and the prospects of peace greatly enhanced, a new assault has been launched by big business reaction on the home front. Directed against labor, the Negro people's movement and the advocates of peace and constitutional liberties, its principal aims are to compel the people to bear the continuing burdens of the cold war and submit to the extraction of increased profits, and generally to attempt to resolve the mounting problems of monopoly capital at the people's expense.

This offensive seeks to build on the considerable residue of the poison of McCarthyism with which our country is still afflicted, and to impose on labor and the American people generally a series of repressive measures of a kind which could help pave the way to fascism. At the same time, however, it would be a serious error to equate these aims with fascism itself.

The onslaught against the trade unions, unmatched since the days of Hoover, embraces the drive spearheaded by the steel companies and directed against the working conditions and living standards of all workers. It embraces the McClellan anti-labor hearings, the imposition of dictatorial rule over some unions by the courts, and the passage of the infamous Landrum-Griffin Act, designed to license unions and subject them to complete government control. And it includes plans for added anti-labor legislation in the coming sessions of Congress.

In the South, a rebellion against the Constitution, inspired by the economic royalists, has been let loose by state and local officials and by southern senators and representatives in Congress. A fascist-type movement organized around the White Citizens' Councils has arisen and threatens to spread.

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I In the past year, some 250,000 Negroes have been wiped off the voter registration lists. Encouraged by the hands-off policy of the White House, state and local officials have condoned a new wave of lynching and terror. In all of the South, there has been no more than token school integration, and six southern states have refused to integrate even one Negro pupil. In several southern states, the NAACP has been outlawed and its members persecuted.

These menacing developments whose brunt is borne by the Negro people, constitute a peril to constitutional democracy in the nation as a whole. Indeed, they are directed against the democratic rights of all Americans, white as well as Negro.

The offensive of reaction is marked also by an alarming rise in manifestations of anti-Semitism, of which the most striking are the recent bombings and desecration of synagogues and cemeteries in various parts of the country.

These offensives are accompanied by a renewed attack on the Bill of Rights. New thought-control legislation is being processed in Congress. The Congressional inquisitors have launched new witch-hunts. The Department of Justice plans to step up its persecutions of Communists and progressives. And in the Supreme Court in the face of mounting reactionary attacks, a majority has developed in support of a retreat from some of its previous positions defending the Bill of Rights.

A new barrage has been launched on the ideological front, containing a mixture of old and new anti-communist slanders and demagoguery. The labor movement is labelled "monopolistic" and is charged with responsibility for inflation. Trade unions are smeared as "racketeer-controlled." Theories of "people's capitalism" and the "welfare state" are widely propagated, with attempts to discredit Marxist theory and socialism.

But the monopolists are not invincible. Their offensive can be stopped and thrust back. For 1959-60 is not 1949-50. A more militant mood exists among the American people, and a leftward trend is discernable. Abroad, the world peace movement grows. The epic advance of socialist and communist construction and the influence of the peace policy and initiatives of the socialist world register even greater impact on all peoples. The battle-cry of "freedom" grows stronger against imperialism on all continents. And the powerful actions undertaken by important sections of the popular forces have given them greater confidence in their ability to resist and defeat the offensive of monopoly capital.

## 2. Militant Moods and Struggles

The effects of the cold-war policies, the impact of the recent economic crisis and the continued existence of large-scale unemployment, the "get-tough-with-labor" drive of Big Business, the frenzied efforts of southern reaction to maintain its system of Jim Crow—all these have stimulated mounting resistance among the American people, in the first place among the workers and the Negro people.

Expressive of the growing militancy in the ranks of labor are a number of actions by the labor movement in the recent past, undertaken largely under rank-and-file pressure and in some cases as a result of Left initiative. Among these are the AFL-CIO national jobless conference and the statewide jobless marches in Michigan, Ohio and Illinois. Among them also are the strikes of the auto, farm equipment, airline, rubber, copper, and New York hospital workers and especially the strike of half a million steel workers, as well as the successful struggle against state "right-to-work" laws in the 1958 elections, with the accompanying defeat of a number of outstanding reactionaries at the polls.

Especially noteworthy are the advances made by the Negro liberation movement, which occupies a position of key importance in the American scene. The struggle to end Jim Crow oppression of the Negro people, which lies at the heart of the fight to destroy Dixiecratism and establish full democracy in the South, vitally affects the interests of the entire American working class and has served increasingly to spark struggles on issues of democratic import to the entire country.

In recent years, this struggle has taken on considerable added force and momentum. Popular participation has swelled and cooperation among the various sectors of the movement has increased, frequently inclusive of the Left-progressive forces. Outstanding among the actions undertaken by the Negro people, often with sizeable support of their white allies, are the Montgomery bus strike, the heroic actions of Negro pupils in the South, the two great Youth Marches, and the widening movement in the North to elect Negro to public office. These actions have had a major impact on the political life of the entire nation.

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Also expressive of the new levels of struggle to which the Negro people have advanced are the fight against Jim Crow practices in the labor movement waged by A. Philip Randolph at the 1959 AFL-CIO convention, and the militant position on the question of Negro leadership in the UAW taken by the Negro delegates to the recent convention of that union.

Among sections of the farmers, too, there has been growing dissatisfaction and resentment against their intolerable economic conditions. This was expressed particularly in the sweeping of Republicans out of office from numerous farm areas in the 1958 elections.

The recent past has witnessed also a growth of peace sentiment and extension of the peace movement. American intervention in Lebanon and Quemoy evoked widespread protests throughout the nation. The demand that the Administration and nuclear testing and ban the H-bomb has found a widening response in community meetings, peace "walks," petitions and sermons from the pulpit. There has been a warm response among all strata of the people to the artists, scientists and other visitors from the Soviet Union. In labor, business and church circles the demand is growing that the United States recognize People's China. And since the Khrushchev visit, the peace movement has risen to new, more advanced levels.

Opposition to loyalty oaths and governmental secrecy has grown, as have movements to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, to implement the Supreme Court's desegregation order, and to demand that the Department of Justice halt its unconstitutional attacks under the Smith, McCarran and Taft-Hartley Acts.

It is the responsibility of our Party to link up all these struggles, which are in one way or another directed against the reactionary drive of the trusts, and to show their interrelationship. Thereby the resistance of the people will be strengthened and rendered more effective. In particular, the struggle of labor will grow in effectiveness as it becomes linked with that of the Negro people, as well as with the struggles of the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American people, and especially to the degree that labor fights aggressively for Negro rights. We must work to overcome the disunity in the ranks of labor and the people which has permitted the reactionary offensive of Big Business to make such headway.

## 2. Democratic Unity of The People Against Big Business

To defeat the reactionary offensive of corporate wealth, to advance the fight for peaceful coexistence, economic security and civil rights and liberties, it is necessary to achieve the broadest, most resolute unity of action of the working class and its allies.

It is essential to strive ever more closely to unite labor, the Negro people, the small farmers, students, professionals, small businessmen and other democratic elements on a program of action for economic welfare, democratic rights and peace, and so to move in the direction of forging of an anti-monopoly coalition—an alliance of the people against big business.

The anti-monopoly coalition is a strategic political concept, stemming from the realities of the class structure of present-day capitalist society. It grows out of the basic nature of monopoly capital which, in its drive for maximum profits, in one way or another exploits or oppresses all other sections of society. These, constituting the overwhelming majority of the people, are compelled to resist the encroachments of monopoly, and therein lies the basis for their alliance.

In this, too, lies the basis of united front policy in its broadest aspects. For every major struggle of the people—the fight for peace, the economic battles of organized labor, the Negro people's movement for full equality, or any other—is objectively an anti-monopoly struggle, that is, a struggle directed against the policies of big business.

Hence these discrete, independent currents and movements tend to coalesce at various points and increasingly to flow together into a common stream. The coalition is the product of an extended formative process, embodying parallel actions and united front relationships and movements of the most diverse kinds, in the course of which consciousness of the main enemy—of the fact that it is a common enemy—grows and becomes ever more widespread.

Monopoly capital, to be sure, does not constitute a homogeneous aggregate; rifts and conflicts over questions of policy repeatedly arise within its ranks. The popular forces must learn to understand and to take advantage of such differences. But they remain differences in the ranks of the enemy, and in no way alter the basic

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character of the struggle. Thus, the fight for peace is no less a struggle against the cold war policies of big business because of the growing confusion and contradictions which world developments favoring peace have produced in its camp.

The component elements of the people's alliance are manifest in a variety of forms--in the growing struggles of labor, in the upsurge of the Negro liberation movement, in the growth of peace sentiment and peace movements, and in other movements and struggles. To be effective in achieving their objectives, as well as in building a popular democratic alliance, it is imperative to unify and reinforce each of these at the grass roots. It is necessary to draw in all who are prepared to engage in the fight, and to coordinate the separate but related and interesting mass activities in behalf of the people's needs and interests. It is essential to combat the divisive and corroding red-baiting, class-collaborationist and cold-war policies pursued by the Right-wing labor and social democratic leaders, and by many liberal and Negro people's leaders, as well.

Hence, most effectively to advance labor's fight for job and union security requires an extension of united economic and political action by all segments of organized labor and all workers, progressive or conservative. And the struggle for labor's rights and welfare will be enhanced to the degree that labor champions and leads the general fight for peace, democratic rights, and economic and social welfare.

Hence, to reinforce and advance the Negro people's movement for equality, it is necessary to build it on a foundation of all-inclusive unity. It is also necessary to bring forward in its leadership the Negro workers with their two million union members. It is likewise essential that white workers take the lead in strengthening the Negro-labor alliance in struggle against the infamous Jim Crow system and the reactionary GOP-Dixiecrat alliance. This is central to winning such vital objectives as FEP, both in legislation and union contracts, organization of the unorganized in the South, the right to vote, and adequate Negro representation. And these, in turn, are the necessary basis for the achievement of that broad democratic advance which is of such crucial importance not only to the Negro people, but to all American working people.

Hence, the further advance of the peace movement requires that substantial sections of the labor and Negro people's movements be drawn into it--particularly into the fights for East-West trade and for disarmament and tax reductions--and become its backbone and driving force. It requires, too, the enlisting of other allies on issues of wide appeal, such as banning the H-bomb. And it requires the encouragement of all pro-peace individuals and currents, however limited, in both major parties, as a means of exerting ever greater pressure for peace on the Congress and the Administration.

It is incumbent on progressives, especially Communists, to support those movements directed against the common enemy--monopoly. It is incumbent on them to show that these struggles are indivisible, that the merging of these streams into one mighty torrent will create a strength superior to that of monopoly and capable of winning gains far beyond the capacity of the separate organizations and movements. Progressive and Communist workers will, therefore, bend every effort to help reinforce these movements and help realize a common front.

The leadership of such a people's alliance against monopoly must come from the working class, the most progressive class in the nation. But for the working class, to step forward into leadership, it must achieve a new status, that of political independence.

In all this, a special responsibility falls on the Communist and others of the Left--the task of developing the class consciousness of the working class. They must explain over and over, in the course of these struggles, the issues and class forces involved, the nature of the monopolist enemy and the inter-relationship of the individual struggles. They must illuminate the path forward at every step, making clear both the immediate and ultimate perspectives.

They must open up to ever wider sections of the working class the great treasure of lessons from the democratic and progressive struggles of the American people, and from the rich experiences of working class movements throughout the world.

In this way the immediate needs and interests of the working people can be protected and advanced, and the road opened to the attainment of a new political alignment and a people's government resting on the strong foundation of a democratic anti-monopoly front, led by the working class.

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## V. THE 1960 ELECTIONS

With the new developments in our foreign policy and the growing prospects for ending the cold war and achieving peaceful coexistence, the 1960 elections take on a new meaning. While the new trend has been welcomed by the American people, powerful elements in both parties are trying to reverse it.

In the Republican Party, Nelson Rockefeller has come to the fore as its high-octane cold warrior. At the same time, Nixon, whose anti-labor record is one of the most shameful on the current scene, talks peaceful coexistence in Moscow and war at home. And the policies of the Democratic Party continue to be dominated by the Truman-Acheson cold-war line.

Congress has dramatized these counter-currents by its refusal to enact meaningful civil rights legislation and its passage of anti-labor laws. Underlying this has been the power of the Dixiecrats in alliance with Republican elements in Congress. AFL-CIO president George Meany correctly summarized our domestic situation when he told an Urban League banquet that the Dixiecrats are the common enemy of both labor and the Negro people.

The peace issue in the 1960 elections will be strengthened by a program for a peacetime economy that will mean jobs and higher living standards. Linked to this must be labor's drive to halt and reverse the reactionary offensive in Congress. In the accomplishment of these aims, a basic factor is the fight to end Dixiecrat control of Congress. Civil rights and constitutional protections for the Negro people in the South are fundamental to any democratic advance.

The Civil Rights Commission has recommended appointment of federal registrars in the southern states to guarantee the Negro people the right to vote, along with others now denied that right through local restrictions. Enforcement of the 14th Amendment is being urged. This amendment provides for the reduction of the Congressional delegation of any state that denies the right to vote to its adult citizens.

In New days, the Dixiecrat veto over Democratic presidential nominations was eliminated by abolishing the two-thirds rule at national conventions. But the power of the Dixiecrat members of Congress, who through disenfranchisement of the Negro voters guaranteed themselves constant re-election, expresses itself in national politics through control of Congress by means of the seniority rule for Congressional committees. A measure vital to the defeat of the reactionary alliance is elimination of the seniority rule. Smashing the usurped power of the Dixiecrat bloc will remove a major barrier to the struggle for peace, democracy and civil rights.

The lesson of the 86th Congress is clear. To the extent that Labor and the Negro people's movement further advance independent political action, press forward their own positions and candidates, to that extent will they win their demands against the monopolists and their political henchmen.

The dissatisfaction of liberals, labor and the Negro people with reaction and bossism is reflected in the independent trends and groups in the Democratic Party, based on varied issues in different localities. In Congress these are expressed by the struggles of Senator Clerk, MacNamara and Proxmire against Lyndon Johnson. In New York, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Herbert Lehman and Thomas Finletter, and more successfully Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, conduct the fight against Carmine DeSapio. In California the Democratic Club movement reflects grass roots political organization and has considerable influence in shaping policies and directing candidates. A similar form exists in Chicago. In Michigan the power of labor, especially of the UAW, is a decisive factor. Such forces as the ADA and the Liberal Party in New York are concerned over the continued concessions to the Dixiecrats.

The internal struggles and the fluid situation within the Democratic Party can be utilized by the forces of labor and the Negro people to influence issues and candidates. What is needed is unity and cohesion, established independently of the old party machines. Movements in each of these fields, with their own immediate tasks, will confront a common enemy—the alliance of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans. But they also share an important goal and the prospect of victory.

In these circumstances, the central political tasks confronting the labor, peace and democratic forces are as follows:

- 1) To bring the fight for peace up to the pace demanded by current developments, it is urgent to bring such issues as disarmament and peaceful coexistence before every community, church, labor union and other organization of the people, and

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to compel every leader and specifically every office holder, candidate and potential candidate to take a public position on peace and these related vital issues.

While giving priority to the peace issue, all the people's needs must be fought for -- wages, jobs, labor's rights, civil rights and liberties, social security, housing, health, youth needs, etc. But the people must understand especially that only an end to the cold war, radical reduction in armaments and the full functioning of the economy for peace can bring satisfaction of their needs.

2) It is essential to work for broad electoral unity to oppose the chief candidates of reaction and the cold war, and to promote nominations and election of pro-peace and pro-civil rights candidates at all levels. Such candidates should include trade unionists and representatives of the Negro people, as well as nominees of other minority groups, especially Puerto Rican and Mexican-Americans.

Labor and the Negro people cannot make further progress on the basis of the present tiny representation from their own ranks in the Congress and public office. This election must see a substantial increase in labor and Negro candidates from the primaries through the elections.

3) It is imperative that the Dixiecrats be made a major target of attack, that they be exposed and isolated. Defeat of their reactionary Republican and Democratic allies in the North is equally urgent.

4) The proposal of the Civil Rights Commission to appoint federal registrars in the South must be carried out in 1960 to guarantee the Negro people their full rights to register and vote in these elections. The best way to guarantee this is by meeting the new session of Congress and the primary contests with a crusade for civil rights.

5) Every encouragement and support must be given labor proposals for national and local conferences of labor and its allies early in 1960. These conferences can lead to an independent position in the elections and exert powerful influence on the selection of candidates, the drafting of programs and other vital aspects of the election struggle. Similar local and national conferences, called by the Negro people and by liberal and people's organizations generally, could further influence the political parties in a progressive direction.

6) The major party primaries will reflect these popular dissatisfactions and progressive forces will contest the reactionaries. Where reactionary candidates have been nominated by both parties, democratic and peace candidates should be promoted on independent tickets.

7) The Communist Party, to advance the unity of the people, to promote and clarify the issues of the campaign and to educate for socialism, will run its own candidates, as it did in the Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Ben Davis campaigns in New York and the Archie Brown campaign in California. Where undemocratic election laws and restricts operate, it will do so in whatever way is open, acting jointly with others.

It is essential to build, strengthen and multiply the independent electoral apparatus and organizations of labor (COPE) not only on a shop and union basis, but particularly in the communities. Also, among the Negro people it is essential to promote independent political action and organizations such as the non-partisan Negro Voters Association both in the North and South. It is further necessary to support the struggle of the Negro people and disfranchised whites in the South to vote, and it is important to launch a national campaign to ensure maximum registration, electoral activity and casting of votes.

In addition, a fight should be launched against the growing undemocratic restrictions which keep minority parties off the ballot, and for proper reapportionment of representation and the abolition of gerrymandered districts.

By working along these lines, by building its independent strength and uniting all peace and people's forces, labor and the democratic forces can make headway in 1960 in ousting leading reactionaries from office and electing pro-peace and progressive candidates. They can be in a strong position to determine the character of the next Administration and Congress and help prevent wavering and backsliding of the elected friends of labor and hasten the trend toward a new political alignment and a mass people's party.

Recognizing the dominance of Big Business over the two major parties, we constantly advocate the necessity of a new, farmer-labor party. Such a political re-

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-L--Continued

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alignment will produce not just a minority opposition party but one which can win the majority -- a new party based on the mass of labor, the farmers, the Negro people, and other sections of the population in which labor fulfills a leading role. In the course of all election activity it is necessary to advance such an objective on the basis of experiences in the elections. We do not, however, set a blueprint and then try to make experience fit it. Nor do we advocate such an objective in any mechanized, sloganized way. Rather, we hold that such an objective gives perspective to immediate work and serves to increase participation in every election campaign. We warn against premature and adventurist splits which result in isolation.

All of this must be said in relation to 1960 because we recognize that the major election campaign, including the independent movements, will be within the two-party system. The election requires more attention to the development of independent movements in their many forms, with special attention to the Democratic Party through which the major sections of labor function in the elections.

These goals cannot be achieved, however, through the formation of "independent socialist parties" such as have been attempted in some areas. These, supported by some liberals, progressives and socialist-minded radicals and used as a base of operations by some Trotskyites, represent premature, sterile movements which can only serve to isolate the Left from the masses of labor and the Negro people.

To facilitate the widest mobilization of the people in the interests of peace and for a progressive outcome of the elections, requires the establishment of joint action of Communists, Socialists, union militants and progressives for a common struggle against the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition.

It is essential to educate the masses of the people in socialism, in the accomplishments of the socialist countries and the meaning of socialism for the United States. But such education cannot be viewed as a task apart from the struggles of the people. The main task of the class-conscious forces at the present time is to develop the unity of the widest masses of people in the struggle for their most vital needs -- above all peace -- and through these struggles to create more favorable conditions for wider socialist understanding and organization of movements.

The Communist Party will cooperate with and help stimulate the independent political organization and activity of labor and all other democratic forces, and will support and participate wherever possible in united and democratic front alliances and movements. At the same time, it will develop its own independent activity, help clarify issues and popularize its basic program for an American road to socialism. The 1960 elections afford to the Party, and the Left and progressive forces generally a great opportunity to strengthen their positions and identify themselves more closely with the mass currents and movements stirring our country.

The elections will also enable the Party to make a special contribution to the question which will overshadow the immediate issues--namely, the competition of the two systems, socialism and capitalism. These will be discussed and debated and socialism will therefore be an issue in the broadest sense. The Party will bring the truth about socialism and its superiority over capitalism to the American people.

To advance the cause of peace and progress, the Communist Party will advocate the following program:

1. Guarantee peace for our country and the world by outlawing nuclear war, and banning war itself as a means of settling differences between countries. End the cold war and establish a policy of peaceful co-existence with peaceful relations, recognition of normal relations with People's China, trade and friendship with all nations. Achieve total disarmament and an end to the arms economy, with reduction of taxes on low incomes and increased expenditures for social welfare.
2. End interference in the affairs of Latin American countries. Hands off Cuba! Independence for Puerto Rico!
3. Defend the Constitution and restore the Bill of Rights. Abolish the witchhunting House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee. Free Henry Winston, Robert Thompson, Gilbert Green, and all other political prisoners, including Morton Sobell, who is now serving his ninth year of a brutal 30-year sentence. Protect the foreign-born against deportation and harassment. Repeal the Smith and McCarran Acts and establish the full legality of the Communist Party.
4. Secure equal rights and full citizenship of the Negro people. Abolish Jim Crow segregation. Enforce the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. Enact federal civil rights legislation to guarantee these rights immediately.

HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-L—Continued

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5) Advance labor's right to organize, strike and participate in political action. Repeal the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws. Prohibit strike-breaking by court injunction. Halt all Taft-Hartley prosecutions. Guarantee the right to a job and improved living and working conditions. Provide adequate compensation for all unemployed for the entire duration of unemployment. Establish the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay. Increase social security payments.

6) Protect the rights of the small farmers to their land and their implements. Assure adequate income through improved and extended price supports. Provide credit and government loans at nominal interest rates. Use farm surpluses to feed the hungry here and abroad.

7) Aid small business through tax relief and easy credit.

8) Enact an American Youth Act to meet the needs of the youth for education, recreation, health and jobs. Reduce the minimum voting age to 18 years.

9) Enact health, education, cultural, and housing programs to meet the people's needs without corruption and profiteering.

10) Establish public ownership and operation of all atomic energy facilities, railroads, and public utilities.

11) End monopoly profiteering. Put the tax burden on corporate wealth and high personal income, on the basis of taxation according to ability to pay.

12) Enact Federal legislation to implement the rights of all citizens to hold office regardless of race, color, political views, and with special provisions for enforcement in the South. Abolish the discriminatory literacy tests.

VI. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The new period we have entered opens up great new opportunities and tasks for the working class, and this, as well as the developments of the past two years, confirms anew the indispensable need of the Communist Party, which is the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the American working class--the party of socialism.

In the recent period, the Party has successfully fought and defeated the anti-Marxist revisionists as well as a group of anti-Party dogmatists. Waging a determined struggle against factionalism and for the unity of the Party, defending and applying the principles of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, in accord with specific American conditions and the best interests of our working class and nation, our Party has begun again to unfold its mass policies, to bring its program to the people.

It fought against those who would convert the Party into a hopeless sect while at the same time disassociating itself from the distortions of the concept of the united party of socialism by which the revisionists sought to convert our Party into, or replace it with, a party of a coalition type in which Marxism-Leninism would be but one tendency instead of the fundamental and basic policy of the entire organization.

Our Party has begun to play a constructive role in some of the unemployment, integration, peace, electoral and strike struggles of the people. As a result the Party's influence, mass contacts and relationships are increasing in a number of areas and fields of work. And there the Party is being consolidated and revitalized.

But these areas of positive activities and developments are as yet the exception and do not reflect the general situation in our Party. A sober and objective estimation of the status of our Party today would confirm its inadequacy to give its most effective leadership and to make its full contribution to the great new tasks which confront the American people and its working class.

The cardinal problem of Party renewal, of building the Party and of establishing broader united front relations, remains largely unsolved. Therefore the chief task before the Party still is to overcome its isolation from decisive sections of the labor movement to strengthen the Party's mass base among the basic industrial workers, Negro and white, and among the youth. Without this, the Party's capacity for helping transform its policy into living reality will remain seriously impaired.

In the growing popular movements of resistance to the offensive of reaction, the perspective for our Party is to bring our science and indispensable role to these movements. We can bring our Communist initiative, steadfastness and energy to help the people in these struggles. We can find among the most devoted and class-conscious elements emerging in them a source of new members to revitalize and rebuild our organization.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-L--Continued

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Certain weaknesses in the Party's work can be attributed to shortcomings in the work of the national leadership. Among these are a failure decisively to end factionalism, a lag in tackling important ideological problems, an insufficiently vigorous fight for a united front policy, and inadequacy in collective work and the application of criticism and self-criticism.

But the main weakness of the Party leadership on national and district levels has been its inadequacy in keeping sufficiently abreast of new developments and in providing analysis, policy, program and tactical leadership to the extent required most effectively to equip our Party to play its full role in the mass struggles shaping up today. All too often, Party leaders remain isolated from the membership and the mass movement.

It will be idle for us to strive to improve the political content of our work, however, unless we conduct a determined struggle to re-establish the organizational status of our Party from top to bottom. Party building and the further implementation of the Party's mass political line will proceed very slowly and unsatisfactorily unless the entire Party and its leadership seriously raises organizational work to the high level it requires. The fight for the revitalization of our Party needs to be seen as a two-front task in which progress on each front will enhance the other and both are essential.

In this connection, it is essential that the Party leadership at all levels improve its style of work, eradicate subjectivity and cultivate closer and more comradely relations, in which criticism and self-criticism will be constructive and mutually beneficial. Such criticism and self-criticism must be directed toward specific mistakes and toward their correction. It must not be permitted to take the form of criticism of the Party as such and the undermining of its role, such as took place in the recent past. And it is especially urgent that the leadership work at all times to reinforce the unity of the Party.

It is necessary to effect a marked improvement in the way in which the Party fulfills its vanguard role, especially in its ideological work, in extending its independent mass activity, and in unfolding its united front policies. Also, the readership and study of The Worker and Political Affairs and of Marxist literature of all kinds, must be greatly expanded.

The exercise of its vanguard role requires, among other things, expanding to the maximum the organizational and political initiatives of the Party on all levels. Taking into account the deprivation of legal rights imposed upon the Party by Big Business reaction in violation of the Constitution, the Party's vanguard role must be exercised by its members in such a way as safeguards the ability of Communists to remain among the masses, strengthen their ties with them and win them for the Party's mass policies. At the same time, the Party must boldly utilize all public channels for expression and activity, and intensify the fight for re-establishment of its full constitutional rights as part of the general fight of the working people to restore and defend the Bill of Rights.

Effectively to carry out the Party's mass political line, to accelerate labor unity and the development of the democratic front for peace, democracy and security, it is necessary to master and apply concretely and flexibly the Party's united front policy. In many respects, this remains our biggest unwon battle. Victory in this battle is the key to progress on all fronts, now and on the morrow. It is a battle which must be waged by every Party leader, and member, in shop and community, in the unions and other mass organizations.

The Party must search out what is new and promising in the current and unfolding mass struggles. It must find the ways and means of establishing more extensive personal contacts and friendships, and wider formal and informal organized political relationships with other progressive workers on key issues. It must work to revitalize the Left and promote the broadest unity of action of the Left with the progressive or center forces and, on certain issues, with the conservative forces as well.

The Party must give special consideration to the problems and mass struggles of American youth. It must give its support to the building of a Marxist-oriented youth organization in this country. Attention to work among the national groups must be restored. In this connection, it is necessary to combat the erroneous idea that these groups are disappearing as significant forces on the American scene.

In particular, the Party must give attention to the problems of the more than five million American Jews--nearly half of the Jewish population of the entire world. These millions of Jews are confronted with the common problem of anti-Semitism in its various manifestations--job discrimination, quota systems in educational institutions, housing restrictions, and the growing outbursts of desegregation and bombing of synagogues and similar acts of vandalism. It is the duty of Communists to fight anti-

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-L—Continued

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Semitism uncompromisingly. The Party must lead in the fight to safeguard the democratic rights of the Jewish people, to foster the development of progressive Jewish culture and to combat the influence of bourgeois nationalism, which seeks to utilize the justified interest of American Jews in Israel and in Jewish communities in other lands to promote the cold war, and which separates Jewish workers from the general American struggle and the fight by the side of the Negro people against all forms of racism and discrimination.

The Party must also strive to strengthen international workingclass solidarity. Above all, it must strive to build ever closer ties with the working people of the Latin American countries, who labor under the oppression of American imperialism.

As never before, it is important that the Party, from top to bottom, grasp more deeply and develop further the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, boldly grappling with the new problems confronting our working class and country, and learning from the experiences and views of the masses, as well as from world working class experience.

It is necessary to strengthen the ideological content of our mass work day in and day out. Anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism must be exposed as the chief weapon of the trusts to mask their robber plans of aggression and exploitation abroad and at home. Racism, anti-Semitism, bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism must be bared as a divisive hatchet dividing Negro and white, native and foreign-born, at home, and "justifying" U. S. imperialist domination abroad. The "people's capitalism" and "welfare state" panaceas must be unmasked as demagogic propaganda spread by the open apologists of Big Business as well as by the revisionists in their efforts to confuse and divert the working people, to prevent them from struggling effectively against monopoly and to divert them from the path to socialism.

Revisionism is an opportunist trend which has its source in the ideology of the imperialist ruling class. Especially in periods of relative economic stability and social reformist and "class partnership" ideas and illusions gain widespread support and these influences flourish and spread in the labor and the middle classes. Our foremost mass ideological task is the constant struggle to expose its roots and influences. Within our Party its penetration has shown itself in the Lovestone, Browder, and Gates revisionist theories, resulting in stripping the Party of its fighting capacity and leadership ability and threatening the very existence of the Party. It attempts to replace our working class science with bourgeois ideas and methods.

Much of our present weaknesses stem from the hangovers of revisionist thinking and methods seen in apathy, cynicism and continuing "holding action" concepts. These retard the revitalization of our Party and its subsequent rebuilding. Our Party needs to be strengthened in the science and method of dialectical materialism in order more effectively to develop consistent working class theories and policies. The Party leadership especially has the obligation to strengthen its grasp and application of basic theory.

Our mass work and ideological responsibility demand that the most consistent struggle against revisionist tendencies be carried on simultaneously with the most vigorous opposition to dogmatic ideas and sectarian practices within our movement. Equally with revisionism, these stem from ruling-class ideology. And they are equally a form of opportunism--in fact, they are but the other side of the coin of Right revisionist opportunism. The Party must wage a persistent struggle against deeply ingrained dogmatic-sectarian opportunist tendencies, seen in rejection and underestimation of the united front, and in narrow, limited actions running ahead of the masses and causing isolation from them, leading to frustration and apathy. Above all, the Party must conduct an uncompromising struggle to eradicate from its ranks every vestige of the destructive evil of factionalism.

Major developments today are forcing many basic questions into the arena of public debate. Among these are questions which arise out of the developments toward peace and disarmament, as well as questions which arise out of the move towards peaceful competition. This has also given rise to a tremendous curiosity and interest in the socialist world. Millions of people in our country today are beginning to weigh the two social systems.

This interest is spurred by the tremendous developments of the socialist world in the fields of science, education, industry and agriculture, as well as the historic Soviet seven-year plan which promises such epoch-making advances.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-L—Continued

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The peace policy and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the recent proposal for total disarmament exert an even greater influence in world affairs, and have struck a responsive chord in the mass desire to avoid the holocaust of an atomic war,

It is therefore timely and essential to demonstrate anew the superiority of socialism over capitalism and the promise which socialism holds of a happy and peaceful life for humanity. In order to make our Marxist contribution to the general welfare, to multiply our mass influence and build the Party as a mass party, we Communists must, especially now, expand our advocacy of socialism. We must explain how with the socialist reorganization of society our country, with its great working class, resources and technology, can bring forth an age of economic, cultural, social, intellectual and democratic well-being far beyond the boldest dreams of any generation of Americans. We must show that the Communist Party advocates and strives to help bring into existence this new social system by peaceful and democratic means, and we must show that in this new socialist society there will be life, liberty and happiness for all Americans, Negro and white, under a government led by the working class.

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The decade of the sixties is a period in which the American people will take great strides forward. And it is a period in which our Party and its influence can grow many times over, in which it can become a mass party of the American working class, in the vanguard of the struggles of the American people for peace and progress and throwing a beacon light toward an America of brotherhood and peaceful labor -- a socialist America.

# # #

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-M

## 17th CONVENTION RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

## IN THE UNITED STATES

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The decade of the Sixties will mark the hundredth anniversary of the emancipation of the Negro people from chattel slavery in the United States. It will also register the hundredth anniversary of the enactment of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. These Amendments proclaimed that Negroes should enjoy equality of citizenship status and constitutional rights with all other Americans.

Yet today, almost a century after the enactment of the Civil War amendment, Negroes are not free and equal citizens. On the contrary, now numbering some 18 million, 11 percent of the total population, they are the most severely oppressed and exploited of all the peoples that constitute the American nation. They are subjected to a systematic pattern of segregation, discrimination and racist defamation in varying degrees, in all areas of the country and in all aspects of life.

The oppression of the Negro people manifests itself in three characteristic features: the denial of equal economic opportunities, of political rights and of social advantages. All three are rooted deep in the historic development of the nation -- in slavery and in the long period of oppression which has followed emancipation.

Though a specially oppressed part of the American nation, the Negro in the United States are not constituted as a separate nation. They have the characteristics of a racially distinctive people or nationality. They are a component part of the whole American nation which is itself an historically derived national formation, an amalgam of more or less well differentiated nationalities.

Though deprived of equal rights and of the possibility to participate fully in all aspects of the national life, the Negro people (no less than the other national components) have contributed to and have an inseparable stake in the American nation's common territory, economic life, language, culture and psychological make-up.

As a result of their singular historical experiences the Negro people are deprived of equal status in the life of the American nation, free of all manner of oppression, social ostracism, economic discrimination, political inequality, and racial segregation.

To conclude that the Negro people in the U.S. are not a nation is not to say that the Negro question in our country is not a national question. It is indeed a national question. The question is, however, a national question of what type, with what distinguishing characteristics, calling for what strategic concept for its solution.

The fact that the Negro question is not one of an oppressed nation fighting for national-state sovereignty does not diminish the revolutionary import of the Negro people's struggle in the United States. It is a special feature of the American road to socialism that the requisite preparation of the forces for effecting fundamental social change in the system requires the completion of the bourgeois-democratic norms of political, economic and social development for the South and the Negro people as a whole. In this respect the Negro question differs from that of other minority groups.

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The chief oppressor of the Negro people, and the primary beneficiary of their oppression, is the class of monopolists, the capitalist commanders of the economic and political heights of our present social system. It is mainly into their pockets that the super-profits flow as a consequence of the extra exploitation of Negro workers of factory and farm. It is their system of reactionary, ruling class political control that is bolstered by the disfranchisement of Negroes in the South and their under-representation in government everywhere; by the perpetuation of lily-white state governments dedicated to the maintenance of white supremacy and pliant submission to the demands of Northern industrialists; and by the presence of a sizeable bloc of Dixiecrats in the Federal Congress who block all programs for social welfare.

It is their domination and pollution of the cultural life and social customs of the nation that is strengthened by the prevalence of a far-reaching system of social indignity and abuse ranging from the customary exclusion of Negroes from tax-supported public facilities to the barbarous crime of lynching.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-M—Continued

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Negro freedom can be achieved, therefore, only at the expense of the super-profits and the political power position of the monopolists and their Dixiecrat partners. It can be secured only through struggle against racist oppressors and exploiters--the Dixiecrats, the monopolists and those who serve their interests.

For this reason the Negro people's freedom movement must be seen as one of a tripod of social forces upon which monopoly has built its empire of exploitation, which are in irreconcilable opposition to it and which are compelled by the nature of their position to struggle against it.

The other two forces of the tripod are: (1) the working class which seeks, through the labor movement, a bigger share of the fruits of its labor and must eventually contend for control of the means of production, and (2) the world anti-imperialist forces, consisting, in the main, of the colonial revolutionary movements and the Communist-led nations and parties.

Each advance of the Negro movement weakens the power of reaction in American life. It has the most revolutionary import. It must therefore command the active support of all other victims of reaction and monopoly greed--the workers of mine, mill and factory, the working farmers, small business people, etc.

Conversely, every victory of the working class in its battle for higher living standards, better conditions of work and increased social security, every general democratic and social advance of the nation, marks an inroad into the mammoth economic power of the capitalist spawners of Negro oppression. It therefore calls for the sympathy and the aid of the organized Negro movement.

Sufferers at the hands of a common enemy, the Negro people's liberation movement and the forces of organized labor must increasingly make common cause to find relief from the ills imposed upon both by their mutual foe.

Not only the working class but all social classes and currents which are in any degree restricted in their democratic development by the reactionary monopolists have a stake in the cause of Negro freedom. Thus, the family-size farmer, the small businessman, the professional middle classes are called upon to champion the Negro's struggle to be free.

This way, the Negro movement will be able to hurl against the monopoly stronghold of American racism not only its own proper and growing strength, but also the massed power of all groups in American life which are, by the nature of our society, the Negro's most likely allies and monopoly's natural enemies.

The Negro movement's need and possibility for sympathetic alliance do not end with the nation's borders. In recent years, especially, the fight for equal citizenship has been enhanced by the sympathy and support which it has aroused abroad.

The continuation of flagrant oppression of Negroes at home undermines the prestige of U.S. imperialists and contradicts their efforts to extend their influence among colonial and recently liberated nations.

This stands in contrast to the continuing development of genuine solidarity relations which the Soviet Union, China and the rest of the socialist countries maintain with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This international aspect of the Negro question is of major importance in the struggle for equality at home, favorable to wresting concessions from the ruling class.

The Negro movement will be further strengthened as it forges bonds of conscious alliance with the rising colonial, semi-colonial and newly independent nations of the world: the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who have taken a glorious and irreversible path which leads to freedom from imperialist domination. Negro Americans have much to gain from their successes and many lessons to learn from their struggles.

Likewise, the Negro people must come to look with favor upon socialism which, in vast areas of the world and among more than a third of the world's people, has wiped out national oppression and eliminated the source of class domination, the profit system. It points the path to full realization of genuine equality and enduring prosperity.

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Given this setting within which the Negro movement functions today, how shall

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-M—Continued

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the movement grow? What are its foremost goals and how shall they be attained?

The question of Negro freedom is the crucial domestic issue of the day and a factor of international consequence.

The circumstances of their common oppression and the unanimous demand for equality of rights and status as American citizens are the ties that bind together all strata of the Negro population. The steadily growing unity of the Negro people is manifested in the continuing growth of their mass organizations and institutions, in the singularity of their basic demands, in the militancy of their advocacy and action for equal rights, in the developing coordination and collaboration between the organizations which constitute the Negro people's movement.

This new strength of organization not only provides for the greater mobilization and exercise of the fighting power of Negro Americans to advance; it also establishes the basis for more formal and equitable alliance relations with organized labor and other progressive organized formations of the general population.

The struggles of the Negro people and the resultant significant advances have inspired Negro Americans with a new quality of self-confidence. A profound spirit of national consciousness and pride in their racial identification permeates the Negro people of the U.S. today. It fires their determination to build ever closer their unity in order to wage the struggle even more militantly to break down all barriers to their exercise of any and all political, economic and social rights enjoyed by other citizens.

The great masses of Negroes unite not in order to separate themselves from the political, economic or social life of our country. They unite to more effectively employ the strength of their own numbers and the weight of their alliance with other parts of the population to level all barriers to their fullest integration into all aspects of the economic, political and social life of the American people as a whole. They are forging an internal national unity to facilitate their struggle for integration as free and equal American citizens.

The Negro people's movement is today's standard bearer in the struggle to open up the now-restricted areas of democracy. It is the decisive strategic ally of the working class in the current struggles for liberty and livelihood and in all stages that lead to the subsequent achievement of the necessary fundamental transformation of American society from the present capitalist exploitative system to that of socialism. To cement the Negro-labor alliance now through powerful mass struggles for Negro rights, is to lay the cornerstone for those broad anti-monopoly groupings of labor and people's forces on which the progressive future of our country depends.

Against the background of this estimate of the Negro people and their freedom movement, what are the special tasks and responsibilities of Communists? First and foremost, it is the obligation of the vanguard Party of the American working class to lead every support to the Negro people's struggle. More, it is the task of Communists to rally the working class and the American people to the support of the Negro people's just demands. It is especially the duty of Communists to promote an awareness among the white pro-democratic forces of their own self-interests in the fulfillment of the freedom aspirations of the Negro people. We must continually point out that no major social advances can be made without a resolution of this question. Negro equality and freedom is a basic question of principal, not a fringe issue. Every compromise on this question weakens the general democratic struggle of all the people.

The main obstacle to consolidating higher forms of Negro-labor alliance is the continuance of racist practices and discrimination within the trade union movement. These practices are reflected in the compromising, vacillating, ineffective approach of the labor movement to the key task of organizing the unorganized Negro and white workers of the South on a basis of equality; in the perpetuation of lily-white constitutional clauses in two international unions of the AFL-CIO; in the continued existence of Jim Crow locals in some internationals and Jim Crow practices in locals of other internationals; in the slow pace of the advancement of Negro trade union leaders to posts of top leadership and responsibility in many unions, and, most dramatically, in the crude attack of AFL-CIO president George Meany on A. Philip Randolph at the recent AFL-CIO convention.

It is a duty of Communists to help the trade union movement right these offenses against class unity.

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Since the character of Negro oppression is delineated by the widespread denial

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-M—Continued

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of economic opportunity, political rights and social advantages, the urgent demands of the Negro freedom movement must be to secure these necessary ingredients of equality. Negroes of all classes, with a practical unanimity, subscribe to these demands; for no Negro, whatever his class position, can fully escape the yoke of exploitation, discrimination and derision. As a result, the Negro movement embraces all classes of the people for whom it speaks.

Yet the yoke of oppression does not impose an equal burden on Negroes regardless of class. It rests with special weight on the back of the Negro worker. For it must never be forgotten that the cardinal aim of anti-Negro oppression is super-profits, and those profits are most readily and directly realized out of the poorly paid toil of Negro workers.

Therefore the Negro workers, and especially the two millions who are members of the organized labor movement, have a special and decisive part to play in the fight for Negro freedom. Segregated largely in the hard-labor, basic production functions of U.S. industry, they are denied promotion to highly skilled jobs, often excluded from apprenticeship training programs, and often denied equal pay for equal work. They are still excluded from some unions and shamefully discriminated against in others. In the ranks of the unemployed they loom proportionately twice as large as white workers.

The most immediate and pressing material needs of the Negro worker, therefore -- food, clothing and shelter for himself and his dependents, security for his loved ones, and education and cultural advancement for his children -- depend upon an unrelenting fight against Jim-Crow. His interest is in eliminating every vestige of discrimination from his industry, his shop and his union, first of all, but it also extends to every phase of American life, for he knows that his inferior status in the economic life of the nation is partly fixed by the subordination of Negroes in the nation's affairs generally.

To the struggle for Negro freedom the Negro worker brings many indispensable contributions. Foremost among these is mass action, in the best tradition of the labor movement of which he is a part. Without this element the battle for Negro equality cannot be fully effective. Never has there been a more apparent need for joining the legal campaigns and educational activities which constitute the bulk of the program of the main Negro people's organizations with well-conceived, militantly directed actions involving masses of Negro people and their allies.

As such actions take place the Negro worker may be expected to support and initiate them, not only with his own considerable and strategic strength, but also with the co-operation of thousands and eventually millions of his white fellow-workers.

Communists have long advocated the united action of the Negro workers to enhance their fight for equality on the job and in the labor movement, and to add their organized weight to the struggles of their people for freedom. We greet and will support the initiative which Negro workers have taken in forming the groundwork for a national Negro labor organization to accomplish these ends.

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Fully one-third of the Negro population who live within the deep Southern areas of Negro majority are farmers and rural toilers. It is at once apparent, therefore, that the struggle of the Negro medium and small farmers, the sharecroppers, the tenants, the land-poor and landless farm toilers to secure their ownership and tenure of the land and to improve their livelihood and social, cultural and political conditions, represents one of the major factors entering into the solution of the Negro question in the U.S. It is an important part of the immediate struggles for the economic well-being and democratic rights of the Negro people as well as for the strategic solution of the Negro's aspiration to political equality.

Pending a more basic development toward nationalization and socialization in American agriculture, the present struggle of the Negro farm masses for the land manifests itself in the advocacy and support for a whole series of reforms. They demand a moratorium on debts and evictions; interest-free or low interest, long-term government financed loans for the purchase of land, for private farms and cooperatives, livestock, farm equipment, seed, fertilizer, house construction and repair, etc. They demand that the government insure the availability of land to the landless and land-poor farmers through the forced purchase of the idle lands of the large estate and plantation owners with government control of its resale and minimum rates on long-term credit basis with priority to the poorest farmers. They demand firm prices controls on farm machinery and cheap rental rates for the use of such machines.

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Furthermore, the Southern Negro farmers are engaged in struggle for schools, hospitals, the right to vote and political representation, for cheap electric power, adequate roads and a fair share of various other public services.

The Negro farmers conduct their struggle through organizations and in such forms as are common to farmers generally in the country and to the Negro people in the South particularly. They strive to express their will at the polls to the measure extent that they can vote and are much occupied with activity for the right to vote. They petition, send delegations and hold conferences to formulate and make known their demands to the authorities. Though represented to some extent in all of the major farm organizations, the Negro poor farmers, like Southern white poor farmers, are largely unorganized in terms of a class organization with their white brothers in behalf of common economic and political demands. The organization of the unorganized working farmers, Negro and white, is an outstanding urgent need of, and task before, the labor movement as well as the Negro people's freedom movement.

While properly emphasizing the importance of the struggle of the Negro farmers for the land in the total struggle of the Negro people for economic, political and social equality and national freedom we should not exaggerate. If in the past we were able to speak of the struggle of the poor farmers for the land as the "main thing" in securing the conditions for the solution of the Negro question in the U.S., it was because of two considerations which no longer obtain. First, decades ago, over two-thirds of the Negro people were rural folk bound to the land in one form or another and therefore any basic improvement in the conditions of life of the Negro masses presupposed as improvement of their economic status on the countryside. Secondly, the oppressive, reactionary, Jim Crow political and social superstructure of the Southern states had as its primary economic base the feudal-capitalist cotton, tobacco and cane plantations. The economic base of Bourbon rule and Negro oppression was the plantation economy, the smashing of which would deprive the Bourbons of their primary material stake in the oppression of the Negro people.

Landlord capital is no longer the capital base, or dominant form of the economic power of the modern Dixiecrat ruling circle -- the heirs and perpetrators of the vicious regimes of Negro oppression and exploitation which continue to prevail in the Southern states. The Jim Crow political and social superstructure with its disfranchisement and economic robbery of the Negro people now serves (and is sustained by) the dominant industrial and financial branches of absentee Wall Street and local Southern capital. Therefore, to deprive the Southern ruling oligarchy of the economic bases of its power (and motive for the oppression of the Negro people) it is no longer simply a matter of breaking its monopoly grasp upon the land (the plantation). The breakup of the plantations (as necessary as that is) will not of itself deprive the present oligarchy of Southern political reaction of its economic base for, or stake in, subjugating the Negro people.

Hence, we see that the struggle for the land, "for the breakup of the plantations" cannot be cast as the exclusive axis upon which the entire outcome of the struggle for Negro freedom pivots; rather it should be viewed as a major, but derivative and subsidiary part of the struggle of the Negro people's movement for economic, political and social equality, on the one hand, and an allied struggle of the working class against the monopolists and men of the trusts on the other.

The main class enemy -- robber and oppressor -- of the Negro people is seen to be, therefore, the common class enemy of labor and all toiling masses -- monopoly capital, the imperialist robber class. Hence, it is clear that the decisive class force in the Negro people's freedom movement, which ultimately will ascend to the leadership of that movement, is revealed as the workers.

The Negro workers have special bonds with the semi-proletarian, poor farmer masses of the countryside; they stand in a special durable relationship with each other within the all-class Negro freedom front.

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As a further barrier to the Negro's freedom aspirations, in many areas of the South disfranchisement, sustained by illegal trickery, intimidation and terror, all but exclude him from effective participation in government. Roughly 1,260,000 Negro citizens have, by painstaking and brave effort, won the right to vote in the eleven ex-Confederate states. But this is only a fraction of the 6,000,000 Negro adults who are entitled to the franchise in this area. On the strength of this disfranchisement, Negroes are denied public office and have no part in running the state, county and municipal governments which oppress them with an iron hand.

Though Negroes are a fourth of the Southern population, not one of their

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-M—Continued

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number occupies a seat in the national Congress. The determination of issues of greatest concern to their welfare is invariably in the hands of racist politicians who through long tenure and seniority based squarely on Negro disfranchisement, rise to dominant positions in the Federal legislature.

In Northern communities, where the vote is more readily available to Negro citizens, they are nevertheless denied the direct representation and influence which their numbers would warrant by entrenched political machines. This is ordinarily accomplished by gerrymandering of election districts to deny Negroes representation, by excluding Negroes from position of real power in the capitalist parties, and by various other maneuvers.

The fight for Negro freedom, therefore, requires a determined crusade to win the right to vote and to be voted for in the South. The flagrant disfranchisement of millions of Negro citizens in the middle of the Twentieth Century, and in the face of the monopolists' loud boasting about the quality of American democracy, is so shocking and repulsive that great masses of people in all parts of the country can be rallied to force an end to it. This is especially true if these masses are helped to realize that the result of this battle will be the extension of political democracy, not for Negroes alone, but for all democratic forces in the nation. This battle for political equality can provide the next big breakthrough in the continuing struggle of the American people to wrest the political machinery of government from the hands of the economic barons.

In an immediate sense, this requires, as part of the 1960 electoral campaign, a mighty movement to force the Federal government to use its power and its constitutional authority to guarantee and protect the unhampered use of the franchise by the Negro people of the South. The proposal of the Federal Civil Rights Commission for Federal officials to replace biased Southern registrars must become a rallying point for masses of Americans.

A united Negro electorate in Northern communities can become a decisive force in winning the right to vote in the South. In many Northern states the Negro vote constitutes a balance of power between the two major parties. The development of independent, non-partisan political unity movements, bound to no party, but including Negroes who are committed to both parties, and also including independent voters, provides a means of unifying the Negro vote in the North. Such movements should support those candidates who will work and vote for guarantees of political equality for the Negro people of the South, and oppose and defeat those candidates who refuse to do so. In this respect the Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party and their supporters in the Republican Party must be singled out for the main attack. The unified Negro vote in Northern communities must also increasingly address itself to the task of overcoming the under-representation of Negroes in elective and appointive offices at all levels of government. Furthermore, united non-partisan political action of Negroes will advance Negro candidates for public office and exert pressure for advanced social measures in the state and national legislatures. Such united efforts of Negroes, whatever form they take, will be strengthened to the degree that they form working alliances with other non-partisan forces dedicated to independent action in the political field.

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The common objective of Negroes, wherever they may live in the United States, is to be free of discrimination. Negro Americans everywhere aspire to legal equality with their fellow white countrymen in the political, economic and cultural life of the country. The popular expression "to fight for Negro rights" is understood by the Negro people to mean the struggle for these general objectives.

To be able to realize these objectives it is required that the Negro people in the United States must secure their full rightful share of governmental power. In those urban and rural communities where they are the larger part of the population generally, and in the Deep South area of the historic American cradle-land of the Negro people particularly, they must constitute the majority power in government.

In its essence, therefore, the struggle for Negro rights is not a mere "civil rights" fight, it is a political struggle; a struggle for a just share of representation nationally; a struggle for majority rule in the localities where they are the dominant people in the population; a struggle for genuinely democratic representative government in the southern states in particular and in the country as a whole.

While the essential character of the Negro people's movement for democratic

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-M—Continued

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rights and national equality is a political struggle for adequate governmental power and representation in government in order to enact, enforce and defend freedom and equality demands of the Negro people, it is also a fact that economic struggles and popular manifestations can compel changes in practices and treatment long before they are given expression in law.

At the heart of this political struggle for Negro rights at the present time is the fight for the ballot, for free and universal suffrage rights. Accompanying this central demand and limited only by the advances made in achieving full suffrage rights, is the fight for Negro representation. To register successes in this regard, certain things are required:

1. A mobilizing, activating and uniting, to the greatest possible extent, of the Negro people and their allies in support of "unity" candidates committed to a program of equal rights for Negroes.
2. Maximum mobilization and unity of Negro voters in support of "unity" candidates committed to a program of equal rights for Negroes.
3. Mutual assistance pacts for political action; an ever solidifying alliance between the organized Negro suffrage movement and the Negro electorate on the one hand, with the organized labor movement and popular democratic rights and peace movement on the other. The latter point, i.e., the linking of the particular struggle of the Negro people for Negro rights to the general struggle of labor for democratic advancement and peace, for the welfare of the country as a whole, is required for winning either immediate or long range successes. As a minority people in the country as a whole, victory of the Negro people requires that the struggle be fought in alliance with the oppressed majority of the whole people, i.e., with the working class, the poor farmer masses, and the other strata victimized by the monopolists.
4. In order to unite the Negro people and to forge the alliance between them and organized labor for the struggle for Negro rights, it is necessary for the Negro workers to exercise the initiative and leadership.
5. To fulfill its historic role of the "leading force" in the freedom endeavors of the Negro people, the Negro workers must be fully organized alongside their fellow white workers in the mass organizations of their class, the trade unions.

In the conduct of all these struggles -- for economic, political and social equality -- there inevitably arises in the Negro movement different approaches and estimates of the task and the best means of accomplishing it. These differences rise largely out of differences in class orientation of the component economic classes which constitute the Negro movement.

The outstanding and fundamental feature of the developments in Negro life in recent years has been the progressive emergence of two million organized workers as a major influence which has mightily affected and is now transforming the character of all institutions in the Negro community. The organizational experience, heightened demands for equality and the militancy of these workers has left its stamp in all areas of Negro life. From these organized Negro workers rise the impetus for militant mass action in the struggle for Negro rights. From them arises the main impetus for unity in Negro life. On the basis of the strength which they bring to the Negro liberation movement, the major organizations of the Negro people and their leaders, have been increasingly enabled to adopt a more independent stand in the struggle for equality.

This has awakened important progressive currents in the organizational life of the Negro people -- in their religious, civic, fraternal and political organizations. This is reflected both in struggle on issues of urgent moment to the Negro people, such as housing, jobs, school integration, police brutality, and others. The Montgomery bus boycott and the movement flowing from it, the school struggles in the South and in many Northern communities as well, are examples of this. It is also revealed in a growing development of united independent political action, as witnessed in Harlem, Memphis, Chicago, San Antonio and other areas.

All Negro organizations reflect this development in the heightened effectiveness of their contributions to the common goal of Negro freedom. Fraternal groups, women's organizations, social organizations and others have increased their independent social action programs and their service to the cause of Negro unity for freedom. Of particular moment has been the notable expansion of the role of

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-M—Continued

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the Negro church and many of its leaders in mobilizing the Negro community against various manifestations of social injustice.

Among these institutions the NAACP remains, in terms of size and influence, the major organization of the Negro people's movement wholly dedicated to the fight for full freedom. It reflects within itself the major harmonies and contradictions of the present level of the Negro freedom movement. It deserves the continuing support and attention of all progressive forces. Nonetheless constructive criticism must be made whenever necessary. The Negro movement is moving to higher norms of unity. Especially is this noticeable in the political arena. Notwithstanding the growing unity of the Negro movement, there are conflicting views, tactics, etc. What is decisive is that no approach, no tactic is likely to succeed unless rooted in a strategic concept based on reality. And that concept must be one of mass action of the Negro people, in alliance with labor and all other pro-democratic forces both at home and on a world scale. Communists must always stand in the forefront of building unity among the Negro people. But at no time do we surrender our ideological viewpoint. In this connection we should avoid two dangers. On the one hand, ideological agreement is not a condition for unity in action. On the other, while participating in united progressive action, we retain our ideological independence.

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Throughout its history the Communist Party has been a proud participant in the struggles of the Negro people for freedom, equality and justice. The Negro people, like all oppressed peoples and classes, are burdened by the yoke of reaction, plundered by capitalists, or under the heel of imperialist domination. Increasingly they will become aware that their most cherished aspirations and needs are reflected in the program of the Communists, in their science of social emancipation, Marxism-Leninism, and in their noble goal of replacing the reign of capitalists by a new social order. That social order--socialism and communism--which promises a truly just society without exploiting classes, a society of material abundance and cultural richness equally accessible to all.

Communists are expected to take their place in the front ranks of the fighters for the rights of the Negro people against their oppressors and racist defamers. The struggle for Negro rights requires a continuous and effective ideological campaign against racism, against every manifestation of "white supremacy" thinking and big nation chauvinism. It has been and remains the duty of Communists to patiently and persistently point out to the workers that anti-Negro racism is the ideology of the ruling class, that its purpose and effect is to wring superprofits out of the sweat of the doubly exploited Negro workers and to frustrate the demands of the trade unions and all workers for a greater share of their production. It has been and remains our duty to point out, without ceasing, that the racist denial of political and social rights to the Negro people of the South is the shield behind which the Dixiecrat-minded capitalists restrict the exercise of democratic rights by all Southerners and sustain the reactionary rule of monopoly in the country as a whole.

Particularly in light of the upsurge for colonial independence in the East, in light of the historic achievements of the Chinese People's Republic, the emergence of India as a potent world fact, the straining of the whole African continent against centuries-old shackles, it is our responsibility to convince all sections of the American masses that the cause of Negro freedom serves the cause of world peace.

Many among the staunchest and most farseeing sons and daughters of the Negro people join the Communist Party. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class and the Negro people's freedom movements. It is the Party of Negro and white unity in the struggle for equality, social justice and world peace. The Communist is one with the people. Whether on the job, in the neighborhood or in a particular organization, the Communist seeks to help the people in their strivings to better their conditions. He helps the people to recognize and support those policies and programs which truly advance and serve their interests, and to fight most effectively against those programs, conditions and forces which harm the people and hold back their progress.

The Communist has no interest alien to the best interests of the people. Their aspirations for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are his deepest commitment.

The source of the Communist's strength is in his membership in the Communist Party. Here he equips himself with the generalized experience of all who serve

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-M—Continued

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in good causes, of those who struggle for the welfare of the people on a thousand fronts. He studies the laws of social development and change in order to serve the people better. He seeks to master the science of Marxism-Leninism. He exchanges experiences with his comrades and deepens his understanding of the problems of our times and how best to assist the people in working for their solution.

Early in its formative years the Communist Party put forward a program for the full economic, political and social equality of the Negro people. It was the first political party in the United States to do so. This demand sloganizes its program today.

On Withdrawal of the Slogan of Self-Determination

In 1930 the Communist Party adopted further programs on the Negro question in the United States in a pioneering attempt to theorize and project a principled solution to that special feature of Negro life -- the oppression of the plantation-bound masses of Negroes in the so-called Black Belt area of the deep south.

Nevertheless, this particular program for the solution of the Negro question in the U.S. was revealed to be an incorrect orientation by the course of the development in the country and within the Negro people's movement. Life experience and greater knowledge of the question have exposed its deficiencies and for this reason the "self-determination" projection and program for the solution of the Negro question in the U.S. is now discarded. (See National Committee Document February 1959: Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Question.) Our Party's view and policy in respect to the solution of the Negro question in the U. S. is to secure to the Negro people with all speed and the complete realization of genuinely equal economic, political and social status with all other American citizens.

Such an objective can only be realized through intensive struggle of a mass action character spearheaded by the united mass action of the Negro people themselves and joined in by the labor movement and all democratic, progressive and anti-monopoly and anti-Bixiecrat forces in general.

The Communist Party declares that the main unrealized task of bourgeois (capitalist) democracy in the United States is revealed in the special oppression of the Negro people.

There is no national task of greater moment for all the forces of social progress of our nation than that of joining into the struggle for securing the full and equal economic, political and social rights of the Negro people. The accumulation of this objective in the coming period would have the most salutary effect upon the development of the whole front of social progress in our country. Victory on this sector would open the way to rapid developments along the whole front for radical social advancement of the entire nation.

Basic successes in the struggle for the Negro's political, economic and social equality and against racial segregation and discrimination are indispensable prerequisites for the further rapid development of working class unity, working class consciousness, working class political initiative and advanced working class-led people's anti-monopoly political action. It will prepare the way for the extensive introduction of socialist and communist ideology and outlook into the labor movement.

A central task of the progressive forces within the Negro people's movement is to aid in the promotion of a recognition of the inseparability of the struggle for world peace to the realization of necessary objective circumstances favorable to the triumph of the cause of Negro freedom. The foes of world peace and the oppressors of the Negro people have a common class root -- monopoly capital, imperialism. A common bond of interest links the fighters for peace and the fighters for the democratic rights of the Negro people.

The bonds of Negro oppression can and must be shattered. All signs point to an early and triumphant resolution of the century-old battle of the Negro people for full and equal citizenship. This in itself will represent a long-overdue achievement of great historic significance. In addition, by providing the basis for a higher unity of the working class, it will help pave the way for a socialist transformation of the national economy. The Communist Party will work toward the attainment of this noble objective with unstinting effort and unwavering dedication.

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-N

## RESOLUTION ON THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES

Proposition I

The American nation of the U. S. is a historically derived, national formation; an amalgam of more or less well-differentiated nationalities. The Negro people are the most severely oppressed and all-sidedly exploited of all the peoples who make up the American nation of the U. S.

The Negro people of the United States are not constituted as a separately developed nation. Rather, their characteristics are that of a racially distinctive people or nationality who are a historically determined component of the American nation of the U. S.

Though deprived of her just and equal rights and freedom to fully participate in all aspects of the affairs of the nation, the Negro people nonetheless have contributed to and have an inseparable stake in (no less than the other national components) the American nation's common territory, economic life, language, culture, and psychological makeup.

The Negro question in the U. S. is a "national question"; it is one of the many varieties of the national question embraced by Marxist science. (See Document\* p. 11, top half p. 12).

"The struggles of the Negro people and the resultant significant advances inspire Negro Americans with a new quality of self-confidence. A profound spirit of national consciousness and pride in their racial identification permeates the Negro people of the U. S. today. It fires their determination to build ever closer their unity in order to wage the struggle even more militantly to break down all barriers to their exercise of any and all political, economic, and social rights enjoyed by any other citizens."

Negroes unite not in order to separate themselves from the political, economic, or social life of our country. They unite to more effectively employ the strength of their own numbers and weight of their alliance with other parts of the population to level the barriers to their fullest integration into all aspects of the economic, political, and social life of the American people as a whole. They are forging an internal national unity to facilitate their struggle for full integration as free and equal American citizens." (Convention Resolution p. 44.)

Proposition II

In applying the classic Leninist definition of the factors making up a nation, (see Document p. 14, par. 3), two such elements must be re-examined in the light of fundamental changes that continue to develop. First, the element of a "stable community."

Capitalist development in the United States, particularly since 1930, assaults the stability of communities. The American population, taken as a whole, is the most mobile, (i. e., the least "stable") population in the world. This is no less true of the American Negro people, whose position in 1930 was essentially that of an oppressed, land-bound peasantry, and has today become essentially an oppressed urban working people. This has resulted in a major alteration in the geographical distribution of the Negro people.

As has been historically true, the laws of capitalist development in America continue to register profound transformations on the various class strata of the Negro people. As a consequence, the relative weight of the peasant class-component of the Negro people has been decisively reduced and the relative weight of the working-class strata decisively increased. The scientific conclusion to be drawn from this objective fact is: the Negro national question in the United States is no longer "essentially a peasant question," the peasantry is no longer the basic class component of the Negro people, but today its basic class component is the working class.

This transformation in the absolute and relative weight of the basic class forces of the Negro people's movement is no more reversible than are the objective laws of development of the system which created these transformations. (See Doc. p. 15, par. 1 and 2; p. 21)

\* The "Document" refers to the report: "New Features of the Negro Question in the United States" by Jim Jackson, which is the basis for this resolution.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-N—Continued

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Secondly: the element of "common psychological make-up"

Taking into full account all that is distinctive in this feature of the nation-like development of the Negro people, nevertheless, this is not determinative for either the solution or representation of the Negro question in the United States. The main currents of Negro thought and leadership in the struggle for advancement and freedom, historically, and universally at the present time, have projected their programs from the premise that Negroes individually and as a people are no less Americans than any other claimants. Only in describing the dimensions of their oppression have the Negro people represented themselves as a people apart from the American nation.

Proposition III

These variants in the essential prerequisite features of nationhood (as described in Proposition II) compel the conclusion: the oppressed Negro people are not a nation and, therefore, the strategic concept expressed in the slogan: "the right to self-determination," which applies only to nations, is not a valid, workable, scientific slogan for the emancipation of the Negro people in America.

The Negro question in the United States remains a "national question" by definition as stated in Proposition I.

The Negro question in the United States remains a special question, commanding the attention of the working class and all forward looking sections of the American population, because "the Negro people are the most severely oppressed and all-sidedly exploited of all the peoples who make up the American nation," and because the basic material conditions for their emancipation, and for the social emancipation of the American working-class has been prepared by the continuing massive urbanization of the oppressed Negro people. (See Document, p. 13) It is also a special question because there can be no further advance for the working people of our country as a whole without the elimination from American political life of the traditional Dixiecrat enemies of Negro freedom.

Proposition IV

The re-appraisal of the "self-determination" concept and slogan, requires its replacement by a strategic concept and slogan which expresses a more accurately scientific, workable solution to the Negro national question in the United States. Such a strategic objective and slogan must answer (as the "self-determination" slogan attempted to do) the very real problem of governmental power for the oppressed Negro majority population, coupled with radical agrarian reform, in what remains of the traditional areas of most backward agrarian relations, intense poverty, and brutal landlord rule, in what is referred to as the "Black Belt" in the South.

The Communist Party program for the revitalization of Southern agriculture and radical alterations of production relations in the "black belt" remains sound. (See attached "Program in Regard to the Black Belt" by Jim Jackson.)

The programmatic outlook of the Communist Party on the Negro question has heretofore been expressed in summary form as:

"The Communist Party stands for the full economic, political, social and cultural equality for the Negro people, including the right to self-determination in the Black Belt."

It is recommended that in the future the Communist Party popularize its position in the following summary form:

"The Communist Party of the United States stands for the full equality of the Negro people; their inalienable right to a fully integrated participation in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of America, including the right to the guarantee of genuinely representative government in the South, with proportional representation, in the areas of Negro majority population."

Proposition V

"The Negro people's movement is today a standard bearer in the struggle to open up the now restricted areas of democracy. It is the decisive strategic ally of the working class in the current struggles for liberty and livelihood and in all stages that lead to the subsequent achievement of the necessary fundamental transformation of American society from the present capitalist exploitative system to that of socialism."

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"Now to combat the Labor-Negro alliance, through powerful mass struggles for Negro rights, is to lay the cornerstones for that broad anti-monopoly coalition of labor and the people's forces on which the progressive future of our country depends.

"This is the main uncompleted democratic task of our country, and its fulfillment will enormously advance the goals of the working class and our entire nation." (Excerpt from 16th National Convention Resolution pp. 44-45)

The fact that the scene of the Negro people's struggle unfolds within the bosom of American imperialism, and in direct and intimate association with the working class and popular struggles and is directed against the common class oppressor, feeds into the general stream of the historic working class cause of our time a powerful current which raises the torrential power of the whole cause of social advance for the people of our country. "The question of Negro freedom, then, is the crucial domestic issue of the day, and is a factor of growing international consequence."

Proposition VI

The struggle against racism (white chauvinism) is in the first instance the struggle against its institutionalized forms, as represented in the all-sided system of segregation in the South, and its Northern extension in housing, jobs, etc.

In the course of unfolding broad popular struggles in support of the Negro freedom movement, against the segregation system, the harsh realities of this racist system in the South must become a knowledgeable part of the ideology of the American people as a whole, and in particular of the working class of our country.

The democracy loving forces of the American people can only come to fully appreciate the significance of the Negro freedom movement to them by gaining an increasingly deeper understanding of what segregation is; of its scope and depth of practice.

Politically, the segregationist leaders are the native Hitlers in the political life of our country; segregation imposes on the Negro family an economic standard of living that is 48 percent below that of the average white family, and upon the Negro children of America the penalty of dying 8 years sooner than a white child born the same day; segregation is the daily experience of insults and humiliation, the disrespect to the dignity of manhood and womanhood; segregation is the torture of the police-prison system; segregation, as the institutionalized form of racism, poisons the cultural wellsprings of our national life; it is the lies, distortions, and gross omissions which permeate the written history of our country; segregation threatens the physical destruction of the public school system in one whole region of our country; segregation retards the unity of the toiling population of our country required for the promotion of the general welfare of the American people.

Mass educational and explanatory work, developed in the course of struggle for concrete objectives in the desegregation battle, is made even more urgent, today, in the face of the flood of racist propaganda the Citizens Council groups are spreading nationally.

More and more, the nation-wide offensive against racist white chauvinism must find its reflection in the halls of the U. S. Congress and in the concrete actions of the Executive Department of the federal government. The honor and the democratic social progress of the American nation are at stake.

Proposition VII

The Communist Party, the Party of Negro-white unity, must continue to build upon its accumulated credits among the people of our country, by boldly implementing the programmatic line which flows from our Party's estimate of Negro freedom struggle as "the crucial domestic issue of the day, and a factor of growing international consequence." (16th Convention Resolution)

Leadership in the struggle against racist "white chauvinism" continues to be a major responsibility for our Party, and especially our white comrades in their day-to-day contact with the white masses.

Negro Marxists have an indispensable role to play in the over-all strengthening of the Negro people's movement. American imperialism and its agents are quite sensitive to this fact.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-N—Continued

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The further development of the all-class unity of the Negro movement requiring the leadership of its working-class component; the deepening of its anti-imperialist ideological content, which at present is very weak; the strengthening of the Negro movement's international ties, through the medium of personal contact and otherwise; the unfolding of a consistently correct tactical line in the day to day battles against the skilled enemies of Negro freedom; the conscious building up and training of its youth cadre for today and tomorrow's leadership of the movement; all of these are necessities which Negro Marxists can contribute immeasurably towards providing for the liberation movement.

This calls for their scientific contribution at all levels of the organized movement.

Such a weight of responsibility cannot be fulfilled from any position except one of being within the mainstream of organized Negro life. Despite whatever obstacles and difficulties are placed in their way, by the enemies of Negro freedom, it is the duty of Marxists to find the path of entry and influence into the mainstream organized movements which constitute the all-class Negro liberation movement.

Development of an ideologically definable, accepted, Marxist-scientific trend in the Negro people's movement is a continuing obligation of our Negro comrades. This continues to require careful planning, flexibility in tactics and consistency of effort.

Negro Marxists must be second to none in their demonstrable knowledge of the history of the Negro freedom movement, and in their ability to apply the Marxist scientific method of analysis, in generalizing these rich experiences into a practical scientific theory and practice of Negro freedom struggle.

Applying the democratic organizational principle of collective work, the Communist Party U. S. A. is dedicated to the discharge of its role as vanguard Party of the American working class, in the concrete task of mobilizing our class and nation to meet the new challenges presented by the dixie-crat-fascist menace to democracy and the new opportunities for mounting a nation-wide offensive, for the final and complete destruction of the Jim-Crow system in our country.

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-O

VI. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

We have entered a period of mounting and aggressive offensive by the monopolists directed against the vast majority of the American people. At the same time, the dynamic power of the growing forces for peace and progress is having an increasing impact on the American scene.

This opens up great new opportunities and tasks for the working class, and this, as well as the developments of the past two years, confirm anew the indispensable need of the Communist Party, which is the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the American working class--the party of Socialism.

In the recent period, the Party has successfully fought and defeated the anti-Marxist revisionists as well as a group of anti-Party dogmatists. Waging a determined struggle against factionalism and for the unity of the Party, defending and applying the principles of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, in accord with specific American conditions and the best interests of our working class and nation, our Party has begun again to unfold its mass policies, to bring its program to the people.

It fought against those who would convert the Party into a hopeless sect while at the same time clarifying and disassociating itself from the distortions of the concept of the United Party of Socialism by which the revisionists sought to convert our Party into, or substitute for it, a party of a coalition type in which Marxism-Leninism would be but one tendency instead of the fundamental and basic policy of the entire organization.

Our Party has begun to play a constructive role in some of the unemployment, integration, peace, electoral and strike struggles of the people. As a result the Party's influence, mass contacts and relationships are increasing in a number of areas and fields of work. And there the Party is being consolidated and revitalized.

But these areas of positive activities and developments are the exception and do not reflect the general situation in our Party. A sober and objective estimation of the status of our Party today would result in confirming its inadequacy to give its most effective leadership and to make its full contribution to the great new tasks which confront the American people and its working class.

The cardinal problem of Party renewal, of building the Party and of establishing broader united front relations remain largely unsolved. Therefore the chief task before the Party still is to overcome its isolation from decisive sections of the labor movement, to strengthen the Party's mass base among the basic industrial workers, Negro and white, and among the youth. Without this, the Party's capacity for helping transform its policy into living reality will remain seriously impaired.

The monopolists and imperialists are impelled to place the burden of their economic and political problems onto the backs of the mass of people. To accomplish this, they will increasingly use every political, economic and social means to accomplish their aims.

It is clear that the American people do not intend to submit to this attack. They will join the developing movement toward peace, co-existence and disarmament with their struggle for political, economic and social security.

The perspective for our Party, therefore, is to bring our science and indispensable role to these movements. We can bring our Communist initiative, steadfastness and energy to help people in these struggles. We can find from among the most devoted and class conscious elements emerging in these struggles a source for new members to revitalize and rebuild our organization.

Certain weaknesses in the Party's work can be attributed to shortcomings in the work of the National leadership. Among these are a failure decisively to end factionalism, a lag in tackling important ideological problems, and insufficient vigorous fight for a united front policy, and inadequateness in collective work and the application of criticism and self-criticism.

But the main weakness of the Party leadership on a national and district level, has been the failure to come abreast of the new developments with analysis, policy and program and tactical leadership to most effectively equip our Party so that it may play its full role to influence and contribute to the mass developments shaping up today. Many of our leaders remain isolated from our Party membership and the mass movement.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-O—Continued

C.F. - 2

Party building and the further implementation of the Party's mass political line will proceed very slowly and unsatisfactorily unless the entire Party and its leadership seriously raises organizational work to the high level it requires.

It will be idle for us to improve the political content of our work unless the entire leadership conducts a determined struggle to re-establish the organizational status of our Party from top to bottom. The fight for the revitalization of our Party needs to be seen as a two front task, each of which will be required. Progress on each front will enhance the other and both are essential for the solution of the key problems for the most effective functioning and role of our Party.

In this connection, it is essential that the Party leadership at all levels improve its style of work, eradicate subjectivity and cultivate closer, and more comradely relationships, in which criticism and self-criticism will be constructive and mutually beneficial. Care must be taken that criticism and self-criticism be of mistakes and directed towards overcoming them as well as errors and weaknesses of Party leaders, and not take the form of criticism of the Party as such, undermining its role, such as took place in the recent past period. And it is especially urgent that the leadership work at all times to reinforce the unity of the Party.

It is necessary to effect a marked improvement in the way in which the Party fulfills its vanguard role, especially in its ideological work, in extending its independent mass activity, and in unfolding its united front policies. Also, the readership and study of THE WORKER, and POLITICAL AFFAIRS, and of Marxist literature of all kinds, must be greatly expanded.

The exercise of its vanguard role requires, among other things, expanding to the maximum the organizational and political initiatives of the Party on all levels. Taking into account the deprivation of legal rights imposed upon the Party by Big Business reaction is violation of the Constitution, the Party's vanguard role must be exercised by its members in such a way as safeguards the ability of Communists to remain among the masses, strengthen their ties with them for the Party's mass policies. At the same time, the Party must boldly utilize all public channels for expression and activity, and intensify the fight for re-establishment of its full constitutional rights as part of the general fight of the working people to restore and defend the Bill of Rights.

Effectively to carry out the Party's mass political line, to accelerate labor unity and the development of the democratic front for peace, democracy and security, it is necessary to master and apply concretely and flexibly the Party's united front policy. In many respects, this remains our biggest unwon battle. Victory in this battle is the key to progress on all fronts, now and on the morrow. It is a battle which must be waged by every Party leader, and member, in shop and community, in the unions and other mass organizations.

The Party must search out what is new and promising in the current and unfolding mass struggles. It must find the ways and means of establishing more extensive personal contacts and friendships, and wider formal and informal organized political relationships with other progressive workers on key issues. It must work to revitalize the Left and promote the broadest unity of action of the Left with the progressive or center forces and, on certain issues, with the conservative forces as well.

The Party must give special consideration to the problems and mass struggles of American youth. It must give its support to the building of a Marxist-oriented youth organization in this country. Attention to work among the national groups must be restored. In this connection, it is necessary to combat the erroneous idea that these groups are disappearing as significant forces in the American scene.

The Party must also strive to strengthen international working-class solidarity. Above all, it must strive to build ever closer ties with the working people of the Latin American countries, who labor under the oppression of American imperialism.

As never before, it is important that the Party, from top to bottom, grasp more deeply and develop further the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, boldly grappling with the new problems confronting our working class and country, and learning from the experiences and views of the masses, as well as from world workingclass experience.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-O—Continued

C.P. - 3

It is necessary to strengthen the ideological content of our mass work day in and day out. Anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism must be exposed as the chief weapon of the trusts to mask their robber plans of aggression and exploitation abroad and at home. Racism, anti-Semitism, bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism must be bared as a divisive hatchet dividing Negro and white, native and foreign born at home, and "justifying" U. S. imperialist domination abroad. The "people's capitalism" and "welfare state" panaceas must be unmasked as demagogic propaganda spread by the open apologists of Big Business as well as by the revisionists in their efforts to confuse and disorient the working people, to prevent them from struggling effectively against monopoly and to diver them from the path to socialism.

Revisionism is an opportunist trend which has its source in the ideology of the imperialist ruling class. Especially in periods of relative economic stability social reformist and "class partnership" ideas and illusions gain widespread support and these influences flourish and spread in the labor and the middle classes. Our foremost mass ideological task is the constant struggle to expose its roots and influences. Within our Party its penetration showed itself in the variety of Lovestones, Browder, and Gates revisionist theories, resulting in stripping our fighting capacity and leadership ability and which threatened the very existence of the Party. It attempts to replace our working class science with bourgeois ideas and methods. Our leadership was slow to recognize its harmful effects in the period from mid-1956 to 1958, as well as in earlier periods.

Much of our present weaknesses stem from the hangovers of revisionist thinking and methods seen in apathy, cynicism and continuing "holding action" concepts. These retard the revitalization of our Party and its subsequent rebuilding. Our Party and especially its leadership needs to be strengthened in the philosophical science and method of dialectical materialism in order to more effectively develop consistent working class theories and policies.

Our mass work and ideological responsibility demand that the most consistent struggle against revisionist tendencies be carried on simultaneously with the most vigorous opposition to dogmatic ideas and sectarian practices within our movement. Equally with revisionism, these stem from ruling-class ideology. And they are equally a form of opportunism--in fact, they are but the other side of the coin of Right, revisionist opportunism. The Party must wage a persistent struggle against deeply ingrained concepts, practices and influences of dogmatic-sectarian opportunist tendencies seen in rejection and underestimation of the united front, and in narrow, limited actions running ahead of the masses and causing isolation from them, and which leads to frustration and apathy. Above all, the Party must conduct an uncompromising struggle to eradicate from its ranks every vestige of the destructive evil of factionalism.

Major developments today are forcing many basic questions into the arena of public debate. Among these are questions which arise out of the developments toward peace and disarmament, as well as questions which arise out of the move toward peaceful competition. This has also given rise to a tremendous curiosity and interest in the Socialist world. Millions of people in our country today are beginning to weigh two social systems.

This interest is spurred by the tremendous developments of the Socialist world in the fields of science, education, industry and agriculture, as well as the historic Soviet seven-year plan which promises such epoch making advances.

The peace policy and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the recent proposal for total disarmament exert an even greater influence in world affairs, and has struck a responsive chord in the mass desire to avoid the holocaust of an atomic war.

It is therefore timely and essential to demonstrate anew the superiority of socialism over capitalism and the promise which Socialism holds of a happy and peaceful life for humanity.

Especially now, therefore, in order to make our Marxist contribution to the general welfare, to multiply our mass influence and build the party as a mass party, we Communists must expand our advocacy of socialism. We must explain how with the socialist reorganization of society our country, with its great working classes, resources and technology, can bring forth an age of economic, cultural, social, intellectual and democratic well-being far beyond the holdest dreams of any generation of Americans. We must show that the Communist Party advocates and strives to help bring into existence this new social system by peaceful and democratic means, and we must show that in this new socialist society there will

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-O—Continued

c.p. - 4

be life, liberty and happiness for all Americans - Negro and white, under a government led by the working class.

The decade of the sixties is a period in which the American people will take great strides forward. And it is a period in which our Party and its influence can grow many times over, in which it can become a mass party of the American working class, in the vanguard of the struggles of the American people for peace and progress and throwing a beacon light toward an America of brotherhood and peaceful labor--a socialist America.

# # #

HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-P

RESOLUTION ON PUERTO RICAN WORK IN THE UNITED STATES

The Resolutions Committee on Latin America considers that it is necessary to have a ringing statement on Latin America, finishing it up with some concrete proposals. That is, aid to the Latin American peoples against exploitation and oppression by American imperialism. However, because Puerto Rico is the most directly exploited colony of American imperialism, and because of the urgent need for stepping up activities in behalf of the Puerto Rican population in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Illinois and many other states where Puerto Ricans are now living in considerable numbers, we propose a special resolution on Puerto Rican work.

Puerto Rico is a nation. It is a direct colony of American imperialism.

The Party has a two-fold task in relation to Puerto Rican work.

First, to aid the people in Puerto Rico in the fight against economic, social and political oppression by Wall Street imperialism, and for full sovereignty and independence.

Second, to aid the Puerto Ricans in their struggles against extreme conditions of poverty, slum ghettos, discrimination, police brutality, and other forms of oppression against the Puerto Ricans in the United States.

Puerto Rican youth has been used as cannon fodder, without consultation or consent from the Puerto Rican people, in all U. S. imperialist wars.

Over 65,000 Puerto Ricans participated in the Second World War. Puerto Rico suffered one casualty for every 860 inhabitants of Puerto Rico as compared with one casualty for every 1,125 inhabitants of the United States in the U. S. imperialist invasion of Korea.

As of December 1958 there were 608,000 Puerto Ricans by birth and 241,000 of Puerto Rican parentage living in the United States. There are sizeable Puerto Rican communities in large cities from coast to coast, with a Puerto Rican population of 654,000 in New York City alone.

The National Convention therefore declares that it is an imperative duty for our Party to turn its face to the Puerto Rican people, to learn their conditions and needs and to give them practical and political aid in their efforts to organize themselves into unions, to raise their desperately low wages, to improve housing conditions and abolish slums, to attain proper education, to meet the social, cultural and economic needs of their youth, to combat the chauvinist campaign of slander and lies about the Puerto Rican people, and to struggle against every act of discrimination and oppression.

The Convention considers that appropriate attention to the vital needs of the Puerto Rican and Negro people is a test of Communist integrity and responsibility because the Communist Party has always been distinguished by the fact that it is the defender and champion of the most exploited and oppressed sections of the working population.

This Convention decided upon the following concrete steps to overcome the long neglect and grave weaknesses in relation to our work among the Puerto Rican people:

1. The incoming National Committee shall make a thorough study and evaluation of our work in every community and industry in which there is a significant number of Puerto Ricans throughout the United States. Special emphasis in this study shall be given to housing, jobs, peace, and political action.
2. Consideration shall be given to Puerto Rican Commissions in states where there are large populations of Puerto Ricans, and Puerto Rican concentration clubs, enlisting for such clubs Spanish-speaking and other comrades interested in Puerto Rican work.
3. The National Convention shall organize a Party seminar and classes on Puerto Rican work in every city with large Puerto Rican communities.
4. A special bulletin shall be issued in Spanish devoted to facts of Puerto Rican life and experiences in struggles based upon the proposed study and experiences.
5. Within a reasonable time and after adequate preparation, state conferences shall be called of delegates from all clubs (or sections) to draw up a fuller state-wide plan of work. An important feature of such conferences shall be the question of jobs for Puerto Ricans and Negroes.

HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-P—Continued

Puerto Rican Resolution - 2

6. A special commission on Puerto Rican work shall be set up by the National Executive Committee.
7. The Worker, Political Affairs, and other publications shall give major attention to Puerto Rican work.
8. The Party shall make a conscious and persistent effort to involve Puerto Rican members and leaders in all phases of leadership.
9. This National Convention shall send a message of greeting to our brother Party of Puerto Rico paying tribute to the courageous stand taken by the witnesses called before the Un-American Committee in Puerto Rico, and shall pledge them our full aid in the struggle against proposed contempt citations as well as other attacks against the sovereignty of the Puerto Rican nation. This convention recognizes the self-criticism by the National Committee of the inadequate support given to the Puerto Rican comrades and others in connection with the Un-American Committee hearings both here and in Puerto Rico.
10. This Convention of the Communist Party of the United States demands the freedom of Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos and all other Puerto Rican political prisoners now in Puerto Rican and federal prisons in the United States.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-Q

FARM RESOLUTION

The political assault against the labor movement is paralleled by an attack on the existence and living standards of small and middle farmers. These attacks also aim to split the natural alliance of labor and small and middle farmers and pit these two classes against each other. Farmers are fed the false propaganda that labor causes inflation; while labor is falsely told that farmers and their legislative programs cause high food prices.

The cold war years distorted the channels of world trade and shut off American farm products from sale abroad, and substituted the products of the armament factories for the products of our harvests.

Big agriculture pays; middle-size and small agriculture is being dealt heavy blows. In the South the shift from cotton to livestock, and toward increased mechanization, is creating an upheaval in the lives of large masses of Negro tillers.

Middle farmers are being eliminated as well as the so-called "inefficient" small farmers. The hands of the banks, processing monopolies and feed trusts are taking a tighter grasp on agricultural production, especially through vertical integration.

During the past decade one million farm families and five million persons have been eliminated from agriculture. One-third of the farmers' income is from off-farm wages and salaries. And by the end of this year, it is estimated, net farm income will have fallen two billion dollars from what it was in 1958, and for next year an additional drop of one billion is forecast by the Dept. of Agriculture.

Meanwhile we continue to produce "surpluses" while millions of Americans are underfed and hundreds of millions throughout the world hunger.

The Administration knows only one answer: cut the "surplus" by cutting out farmers. In this it has the support of the big farmers who hope to take over what the family farmers must sacrifice.

As Communists our answer to the major problems outlined above must always have a class approach of favoring smaller farmers against their class enemy in the countryside -- the big farms; and includes the following:

1. A main advantage of big farmers is the vast profits they sweat out of the terribly underpaid and exploited farm workers. The organization of effective unions among farm workers would be a major help to small and middle farmers. The initial steps already taken by the AFL-CIO deserve all-out support.
2. The method of farm price protection must be changed to reduce the cost of farm programs and discourage all-out production by big farmers. Farm produce should sell on the open market, and prices under parity should be supplemented by deficiency payments on only that amount of production per farm that will sustain a family-size farmer.
3. We oppose crop curtailment but where there is reduction it must be imposed entirely on the big farmers.
4. The Communist Party urges full participation of its members in every struggle to maintain small and middle farmers on their farms, including support of legislative programs for low-interest credit, soil conservation, crop insurance, Federal aid to education and other demands of small farmers.
5. We favor the enactment of a national food stamp plan that will supplement the starvation wages imposed on millions of Americans, and that will provide adequate food and clothing to the millions in depressed areas. Such a program would be of direct help to both labor and farmers.
6. The world, too, needs a food stamp plan. Let us subsidize the shipment of food instead of hardware for destruction.
7. Agriculture in the South has special complex problems tied up with the fight for democracy in the South. Some of these special problems are dealt with in the Negro resolution.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-Q—Continued

Farm Res. - 2

PERSPECTIVES

Our neglect of the farm question is a serious weakness in our practical activity, and represents a big gap in our efforts to apply Marxism-Leninism to the tasks ahead.

In particular, this defect in our theoretical understanding threatens serious consequences for our electoral activities for 1960. An essential component of the 1960 electoral campaign is the coordination of farmer, labor and Negro efforts, enlarging to the national arena the splendid 1958 state campaigns against right to work laws.

The common interests of the farmers, workers and Negroes requires an offensive against the Dixiecrats. It is the Dixiecrats who are the gun runners for the offensive against the labor movement. It is the Dixiecrats who block the democratic advance of the Negro people. It is the Dixiecrats who defend the interests of big farmers and plantation owners.

Farm state liberal Congressmen trade with the Dixiecrats to help pass farm legislation. Deals are made whereby the Dixiecrats trade their votes on farm laws for support of anti-union and anti-civil rights positions. The Dixiecrats must be isolated in national politics and then totally eliminated. This can only be done by a farm-labor-Negro coalition that understands and supports one another's basic needs; and develops urban support in the North and West for adequate farm legislation.

The 17th Convention should spark serious turn toward implementing the basic Marxist-Leninist principle -- the alliance of farmers and workers. The first requisite for achieving this turn must take the form of every District leadership adopting measures to guarantee that especially the trade union cadre of our Party becomes conscious of their responsibility to win the trade union movement for a full understanding of the stake that labor has in lending the fullest support to the pressing needs of the family farmers and in the labor-farm alliance.

Secondly: it should take the form toward the full participation of all farm comrades in their farm organizations, seeking to direct the attention of their fellow farmers toward more consistent and purposeful activity to save the family farmers from extinction, to establish bonds with the city working class, and to advance the program of the party on the peace, civil rights, civil liberties, and trade union fronts.

The Party favors the immediate preparation of pamphlets and literature which will (1) provide a survey of the existing farm situation to the broadest masses of farmers, workers and middle class people, (2) make known the party's position on the critical issues facing the farmers, and on the methods of their solution.

The national executive committee should be directed to establish a functioning farm commission to include a member of the NEC, and to establish regional farm commissions under the regional subcommittees of the party. The political perspectives which have been outlined in our national draft resolution and in Comrade Hall's speech, and in this resolution, will only become effective if serious organizational steps are undertaken.

# # # #

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-R

RESOLUTION ON PARTY ORGANIZATIONI. Introduction

The Party is rallying in unity around policies for mass work, for peace, democracy and security. It is consolidating its ranks on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism as applied to the specific conditions of American life.

For these reasons, and because of increasingly favorable objective conditions in the overall, it faces the urgent necessity as well as new opportunities for rebuilding and revitalization. The correct mass policies of this 17th Convention arm the Party with the first essential, in the new conditions, for the renewed development of the Communist Party, USA.

But the opportunities and possibilities flowing from our correct general line will come to naught unless we grasp one other essential: the need to gear the Party, in every facet of its activities, to the correct application and fulfillment of its mass policies. Given this, our small Party could, in the conditions shaping up, almost overnight become a large and influential force in the life of our country.

To do this, it will be necessary: 1) to shake off and overcome apathy and certain concepts, practices, and shortcomings which remain with us from the past; 2) to make a turn in the fight for the Party's ideological and organizational work directed to the realization of the mass line.

The perspective before the American people, and hence before our Party, is one of heightening mass struggles as the conflict over the future economic and political course of our country sharpens. Already a new fluidity characterizes the national and local scenes as groups and individuals begin to shift their positions to meet changed conditions.

These developments are a signal to the Party to be ready to react more quickly and with greater boldness to events, both in the application of the united front and in timely projection of Party and Left initiatives. They are also an alarm clock rousing us to the time of day, advising that while we have time to make a break with "holding operation" conceptions, we have no time to lose.

To gear the Party to the fulfillment of the 17th Convention decisions requires that in good time-- the shortest necessary time -- we overcome our most serious weaknesses and solve a number of long-unsolved problems.

II. Overcome Our Shortcomings

The Party approaches the task of drastically improving its ideological and organizational work from the standpoint of confidence in its scientific socialist theory and with the knowledge that, despite the ravages of the recent years, it has the capacity, the vitality and the will to fulfill its guiding role in relation to the mass struggles of the people.

The wave of revisionism which threatened to engulf the Party has been repulsed, and those who sought to deny the need for a Marxist vanguard party of the working class have been routed. The anti-Party sectarians have been rebuffed and incorrigible dogmatism finds itself more and more isolated.

The ideological unity of the Party has been restored in very considerable measure. Today, it is possible for a united Party to wage the struggle against opportunist tendencies to the right or to the "Left" as they arise concretely in the course of mass work.

The Party's capacity and potential for mass work has been demonstrated in difficult conditions and at the very time when the revisionists were proclaiming its death while the sectarians were clamoring for policies which would further isolate the Party.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-R—Continued

- 2 -

Despite certain glaring gaps and much unevenness, the Party played an important role in a number of electoral struggles (California, Ohio, New York, Illinois, Michigan, etc.); in a number of strike struggles (steel, auto, packing, hospital, etc.); in the fight against unemployment (national and state marches, lobbies); in the fight for integrated schools, housing and for state FEP's; and in the development of peace actions, especially in relation to nuclear tests as well as other issues in a number of areas. A number of districts have developed their capacity for united front actions on local and national issues, a capacity which extends to a growing number of sections.

At the same time, the Party has advanced its public role in numerous ways: the distribution of over 1½ million pieces of national and local mass materials of all kinds since the 16th Convention; the growth of the number of Party- and Left-sponsored mass meetings and forums; the more frequent appearances of the Party at public hearings, and on radio and television; the growth of invitations to Party speakers on college campuses and before mass organizations.

Marxist education has been revived in a number of areas. There is a growth of Marxist study circles and classes for non-Communists. A beginning has been made toward re-establishing a cadre training program. Major headway has been made in the resolution of basic theoretical questions relating to the Negro question. Attention to youth work, for some time completely abandoned, has been resumed. Recruiting has been renewed in a number of areas. Important advances have been registered also in other fields.

Recognizing that these accomplishments afford proof that the Party has the will to live, to fulfill its vanguard role, the fact remains that they are only a small indication of what must and can be done, if we overcome our weaknesses. That this much was done in the midst of the critical inner situation and great objective difficulties attests to the basic health of the Party, to the fact that it has the inner strength and resources to make the required drastic improvements.

At the same time, hampering the spread and development of these accomplishments, there exist a number of serious weaknesses:

1. The temporary loss of the Daily Worker and the checking of the decline in Worker circulation at such a low point as to prolong the critical situation of the press.
2. Continued underestimation of organizational work and much organizational looseness, reflected in unsatisfactory functioning of many Party organizations, in departure from the principle of democratic centralism, in the low ebb in the circulation of literature as well as the press, in the absence of systematic recruiting, and in many other ways.
3. Great unevenness of participation in the Party's mass work from district to district, section to section, club to club, member to member.
4. Insufficient collectivity at all levels in working out mass policies and planning mass work in the course of the execution of such policies and in subsequent evaluation and exchange of experiences.
5. Failure to rally the Party as a whole to react in time and with sufficient strength to a number of important situation affecting the interests of the working class, the Negro people and their allies.
6. Failure to give necessary attention to a number of important areas, such as national group work, especially among the Spanish-speaking minorities, work among farmers, and the problems of women.
7. Insufficient attention to ideological work and cadre development.
8. Insufficient attention to problems of mass education, especially to the development of class, political and socialist consciousness on the urgent issues of the day.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-R--Continued

- 3 -

It is imperative that we be unrelenting in the struggle to overcome these weaknesses in the shortest possible time.

### III. Gear the Party to its Mass Policies!

#### Master the United Front!

Mastery of the theory and practise of the united front policy is the key task before the whole Party -- before every organization, every member.

The united front is the basic style and method of our mass work. This encompasses comrades in the labor and mass organizations as well as those comrades able to function publicly as Communists in or out of mass organizations.

Our ideological work must be directed first of all toward rearming the Party with a keen understanding of the theory and practice of the united front, end of how to build the Party in the course of its development. It must combat concepts which require ideological agreement as the basis of unity in action. It should develop understanding of the role of Left initiative and of the Party's independent role in relation to the united front. It must imbue the entire Party with the confidence that all members, all Party organizations can and must play a role in winning this biggest unwon battle, whether on a large scale by helping to move many organizations in concert on one or more issues, or on a small scale by moving small numbers of people on single issues.

Practical leadership must be directed first of all to helping members, clubs and sections solve problems of developing the united front. The absence of attention and guidance to work in the mass organizations must be overcome.

Work in mass organizations must be placed on a selected, concentration basis, while at the same time it is vitally necessary to overhaul and modernize the Party's time-tested main policy of concentrating its attention to basic, decisive sections of the working class. As in the policy of industrial concentration, studies must be made of the mass organizations and issues to determine focal points of priority which are decisive for moving masses in relation to their urgent needs.

Knowhow in the development of mass work must be promoted through restoring the practice of exchanging experiences and evaluating activities, through conferences and other appropriate means.

Assistance must be provided comrades in unions and mass organizations toward learning how to advance Party policies, how to go about building Left groupings, how to develop political and class consciousness, how to bring people closer to the Party and into its ranks.

The remnants of distorted concepts of security left over from the McCarthy period, which hamper the Party's capacity to develop the united front, must be overcome. Real problems of safeguarding the Party and its members from reaction's persecution must be separated out of the mass of confusion and distortion which surrounds this question in many areas, and resolved on the basis of collective application of a general Party position to each specific case. Above all the question must be approached from the viewpoint of safeguarding the capacity of Communists to do mass work, to increase the influence of the Party's policies, to advance the united front--and not as an excuse to evade these responsibilities.

#### Renew Left Initiatives

A number of recent experiences confirm the value and need of timely and properly projection of Left initiatives in building the united front, and in helping, sooner or later, to regain acceptance of Left as well as Communist participation in united fronts.

At the present level of development, there are many cases in which Left initiative can stimulate united activities and movements. The emergence of a more militant Left sector in the struggles of the labor and Negro people's movements today affirms this necessity and places a new urgency upon more conscious efforts to help reconstitute the Left in the mass movement

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-R—Continued

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At the same time, outside the existing mass organizations of labor and the people, the experiences of the Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born nationally and in some areas, of organizations for defense of civil liberties in Illinois, California and elsewhere, as well as of certain other organizations, prove the value and the need for reviving certain types of Left organizations where they can stimulate -- not conflict with -- the mass movements.

Strengthen the Party for Its Mass Tasks

The irregular functioning of many Party clubs, the unsatisfactory level of literature and press circulation, the widespread organizational looseness and lack of attention to political organizational work, the neglect of educational work in many areas--all these seriously impair the Party's capacity to carry out its policies. The maintenance and strengthening of the Party organizationally is indispensable to its ability to help build the united front, to help the great majority of the American people find their way to a common arena of struggle against monopoly reaction.

The tendency to transform what are in reality two harmonious sides of Party work into conflicting, antagonistic interests, as expressed in the erroneous concept of "inner work versus mass work," inflicts great damage on the Party. It must be resolutely overcome.

There can be no effective Party work which is not directed in one way or another to the solution of mass problems, to the development of united action of the people for peace, democracy, economic and social advance. There can be no effective work in the labor and people's organizations which is not directed in one way or another to winning non-Party people to support in their own best interests united, mass action for peace, democracy and security, to strengthening the Party's influence among the people, and to building the Party.

The Party exists and labors for the people. All Party work is mass work, including that which maintains and strengthens the Party itself. All mass work by Communists is Party work, including that which cannot, by virtue of objective factors, be publicly known as Communist work. Both advance the interests of the people, both advance the interests of the Party.

Moving to increase and strengthen its work among the organized and unorganized sectors of the population, therefore, the Party must all the more move decisively and rapidly work to strengthen its organizational and educational work.

Improve the Work of the Clubs

Improvement of this work must be directed first of all to strengthening the role of the clubs. Club life must be enriched with the restoration of ideological and theoretical discussions, and liberated from the mass of administrative detail now bogging it down. Necessary administrative functions, dues collections, financial contributions, etc., clog up club agendas only when they are not properly handled, when the clubs lack responsible people to handle them, or where clubs find little else to do.

Every club must have a specific character and concrete reason for existence, arising from the blending of Communist content and policies with the specific nature of the problems of the given mass of people amongst whom it lives and works. Each club must know its shop, its community, its area of responsibility as it knows its own members. It must develop a program to meet the needs of the people whom it seeks to influence. It must plan its meetings in advance, aimed at working out the means of furthering the club program.

The planning of work must be restored, discarding the negative features brought to light from past errors. It is necessary to distinguish between planning for what the club can do in conditions it directly controls, such as the public work of the Party, and planning in relation to the mass movement of the people.

It is one thing, and an essential one, to plan how we shall increase the circulation of The Worker, what leaflets we shall issue, what contacts

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-R—Continued

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we shall work up for recruiting, etc. It is another, and harmful, thing to transpose this type of planning to the arena of mass organizations and trade unions.

For this, another type of approach is required. To achieve this, it is necessary to develop not only maximum clarity on the Party's mass policies, but also thoroughly to learn the problems and needs of the people among whom we work, to be ever attentive to their thoughts, moods and readiness to respond, to develop maximum flexibility in tactics based on what we learn from listening to the people and on readiness to consult with them on ways and means of advancing the common interest.

Through such mass work, each club can build groups of people around itself to work with and draw upon to build the Party. And in such conditions of thriving Communist mass work, the clubs will find the healthiest state for the mastery of the vital administrative functions of the Party.

#### Review the Convention Policy

Especially imperative is the need to strengthen the Party's base among the industrial workers and the Negro people. To re-establish the concentration policy it is necessary to overcome the separation which has developed between the Party's industrial and community work. The whole Party must come to know the problems of the working class, Negro and white, and its unions; of its decisive sectors first of all; and the Party's policies toward them.

The Party's community members are a vital force for reaching industrial workers in their homes and neighborhood organizations, not only through distribution and sale of mass literature and the press, but also through helping to generate united labor-community activity and political action on the urgent issues of the day, through building the united front.

The relationship between industrial and community work must be re-examined with a view to their maximum possible integration or coordination consistent with the needs of maintaining and strengthening the basic shop and community clubs.

New organizational forms must be sought and tested to improve the Party's ability to reach the people with its mass and concentration policies. Tendencies to conservatism in organization, to hold tenaciously onto outmoded forms from sheer habit must be surmounted while guarding against tendencies to liquidate for proven basic shop and community forms.

#### Develop Collective Work

Related to the decline in attention to Party organization, and proceeding parallel with it, has been a departure from collective methods of work. This has become a serious weakness, and the strengthening of and the fight for collective work has become a prime necessity.

Collective work means not merely that leading bodies meet regularly and arrive at decisions together. It also involves Party discipline -- the responsibility and subordination of each individual to the collective. It means a constant review of the work of every leading body and its individual members and a continual process of Marxist criticism and self-criticism in the course of the work. It requires full restoration of the principles and practices of democratic centralism while combating bureaucratic tendencies.

But the concept of collective work is by no means confined to relations among members of leading bodies. It also includes those between leadership and membership, between higher and lower organizational levels -- all the more so today when the Party must learn to operate with far fewer full time officials. Real collective work means pooling the experience and judgement of membership and leadership as the best basis for arriving at correct decisions. It is this which constitutes the essence of Party democracy, which resides no so much in the formal counting of votes as in the extent to which decisions are based in actuality on the widest participation of the Party membership.

It is important also to foster initiative from below. The action of the Michigan Party, setting up area councils consisting of club leaders and state committee members, is a commendable effort in this direction.

Although there has been improvement in collective work during the past two

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-R—Continued

years, the present situation leaves much to be desired. Both nationally and on the district level, there is a widespread tendency to substitute individual action for collective leadership. Individual leaders report on their work infrequently or not at all, are not held sufficiently responsible to the collective.

The leadership, especially in the national center, has not been sufficiently close to the membership. It has not given adequate guidance to the Party's work, and has not been sufficiently felt in the ranks of the Party.

Considerable improvement in style of work is required. Leadership must make itself more readily available, and must develop much greater initiative and boldness in maintaining contact and in giving correctness to its guidance of the Party's work. Among other things, every Party leader should not only be a member of a club, but also attend meetings and participate in the club's activities as much as possible. This will aid the clubs in question, aid the leaders in turn, lessen the gap between leaders and members and further help to renew confidence in leadership. Other means of increased contact and exchange should be sought, such as meetings with representative groups of club and section leaders or comrades active in specific fields of work, to discuss particular problems. Such consultative meetings can in many cases be extended to include non-Party people.

Every Party leader should, as part of a systematic cadre-training policy, select and help to develop newer and younger cadres and to achieve a proper blending in the utilization of older and younger comrades. In particular, the Party's leadership training program must give special emphasis to the development in leadership of women and especially Negro women comrades.

Consideration should also be given to the establishment of regional organizations. These can serve as valuable links in the chain of leadership, providing a means of more frequent, more extensive and more concrete discussion of problems than is possible on a national scale.

The fight for collective work demands an all-out struggle to put an end to all manifestations of factionalism and factional approaches. This vicious evil, grown to menacing proportions in the course of the Party crisis, has in the main been rooted out of our ranks as the Party has turned more and more to mass work. However, manifestations persist in a few quarters, threatening to disrupt the work of the Party anew. These must be eliminated, for nothing is more destructive of Party unity and collective work. The pernicious theory that inner-Party differences inevitably give rise to factionalism, assiduously spread by the factionalists in self-justification, must be exposed as an anti-Party idea. Factionalism is an evil which cannot be tolerated if the Party is to play its role and grow.

#### Build the Party

Finally, attention to recruiting as a systematic, regular activity of the Party must be re-established. Not only are new possibilities developing for recruitment, especially among industrial workers, the Negro people and the youth; organized attention to recruiting is indispensable to achieving the restored growth and influence of which the Party is capable. We must attempt to win back the sound elements among those who left the Party as part of a recruiting drive.

Toward these ends, the incoming National Committee shall conduct a Party Building Drive, to take place from February 1st to May 1st, 1960.

Above all, far more attention must be paid the Marxist press. In the Party's present circumstances, the need of The Worker as an organizer and mobilizer of the membership, as an instrument for reaching out beyond the Party itself, is considerably greater than in the past. This includes not only greater attention by Party organizations, but the building of independent organizations to promote and support it wherever possible. Building the press is mass work. Party leadership should participate more in writing for the press. The incoming National Committee must also explore the possibilities for developing conditions favorable for the re-institution of the Daily Worker.

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Our Party has come through the fires of many ordeals. It is being steeled and tempered. It has begun to achieve the quality of maturity. Armed with correct mass policies, aware of the need to fight for correct application of those policies to every locality and to strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically, the 17th Convention is confident that our Party will succeed in transforming the new qualities it is acquiring into mass influence to help advance the best national interests of our country in a world of peace.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-S

RESOLUTION ON THE WORK AND STATUS OF WOMEN

In order to achieve the fulfillment of the goal and ideals set for our Party and the people's movement - in this Convention - for peace, security, civil rights, the future of our youth, political voice and the strength of our working class party - we must understand and seek the full participation of women.

Women are already in motion fighting back against exploitation and discrimination in the home, in the shops, on the farms...and against the bars from full participation in the economic, social, cultural and political life of the country.

Ninety percent of the women are housewives; 35% of all women also hold jobs outside the home. Their unpaid labor as housewives and underpaid labor as workers are the source of superprofits to big business.

Of the 22 million women who work, only 3 to 1 1/2 million are organized. Their average wage is 60% of men's wages. They are forced into the lowest grade jobs, and have a few opportunities for upgrading. Negro women workers are subject to extra exploitation. Their average wage is 1/2 that of white women; 62% of their jobs are limited to domestic and service work. These degrading conditions and barriers to better working conditions affect the working standards of all workers. Unless the trade unions undertake a consistent campaign for the rights of women workers.

Not only is it necessary to organize the unorganized and extend minimum wage benefits, but it is necessary to undertake a special campaign to wipe out the pay differentials, upgrade women workers and open the doors of job opportunities.

Puerto Rican and Mexican-American women are also at the lowest rung of the job and pay ladder in light manufacturing industries and agriculture.

Mothers, wives and sweethearts, long the silent victims of war, are the victorious fighters for peace.

The family tax payments have gone to pay off the superprofits of big business in the war budget, at the expense of decent housing, schools, health, recreational facilities, and a full program for our youth.

The cold war has been the biggest thief in the lives of our children. War psychology has put the stamp of approval on force and violence - war scares have made them unsure of their future.

Women can take a war budget and turn it into a peace budget.

Jennie Higgins, community worker, can help convert bombers into schools, houses and a decent life.

Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American women face the ghetto problems of smaller than average pay checks to meet exorbitant prices and rents, the worst housing and school conditions, racist attacks upon themselves and their families and are in constant battle with the slum atmosphere of dirt, disease and deterioration.

This is the spreading epidemic that infects our whole society. White women and society as a whole, in their own interest, must undertake concrete plans to eradicate it.

A more effective program for progress can be carried out by encouraging and using the power of women as a political force in the 1960 elections. We must help bring into action the vote of the Negro and poor white women in the South; the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American women's right to register in Spanish, and all women's right to political participation and representation.

The main barrier to understanding the status and needs of women is the concept of the "weak-kneed, weak-minded, unstable woman." Big Business uses male supremacy as a means of carrying out this concept, in order to guarantee its super-profits from this whole group of underpaid workers.

Women in our country are highly organized in social, civic, church, religious, political, professional, business community, historical and auxiliary organizations. Most of these organizations have programs for peace, civil rights, economic security, civil liberties, youth problems and women's rights.

United actions among women's organizations on the above issues can be a powerful force in support of the American working class and the people's movements... an integral and necessary part of an anti-monopoly coalition.

The Party has long recognized the special exploitation of women... their status, special needs and the value of enlisting their vigorous fight back in behalf

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-S—Continued

## Resolution on Women - 2

of the working class and broad peoples movement. ...But this attention has been uneven ... inconsistent.... and of late... not at all! Therefore we propose to this convention:

1. The consciousness of the status of women, the rights of women, and the role of women should be drawn like a thread through every aspect of Party work.
2. Set up a National Women's Commission with all deliberate speed....also commissions in the Districts wherever possible.
3. The Party has the task of putting forward a program that will bring forth the all women in work and leadership... with special attention to the problems of Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American and Indian women.
4. And ideological and popular program to understand the source of discrimination against women.
5. A program to understand and popularize the role of women under Socialism.
6. Conferences and discussions to develop local, and national program of work and status of women.

March 8, 1960, the whole world will celebrate the 50th Anniversary of International Women's Day ...Born in the USA. .. We can take this occasion to renew ties with the International women's movements. We will also celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the women's right to vote. We ask everyone to help us make these celebrations a big leap forward in recognizing the role and power of women's activities and organizations.... the tremendous value and impact of a united women's movement... and a program for the rights of women that will encourage them to add their militant fight-back with the peoples movement against the common enemy... monopoly capital... for a peaceful world, economic well-being ... equality... and soon the goal of Socialism.

# 722 COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AREA

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-T

RE: TRADE UNION RESOLUTION

### PLEASE NOTE

This is the text of the resolution as submitted at the Convention. It is still subject to final editing for publication.

### DRAFT RESOLUTION ON TRADE UNION PROBLEMS

#### Anti-Labor Offensive and Resistance of Workers

The class struggle in America is sharpening. The intensity and scope of the current class battles taking place, the tenacity with which the workers are resisting, is well shown in the 116-day solid strike of the 500,000 steel workers. Their strike broken only temporarily by an eighty-day Taft-Hartley injunction, these workers are showing readiness to resume the struggle if an acceptable agreement is not reached.

The same spirit evident in the steel industry, is displayed by 35,000 copper workers out on strike more than four months; by the striking Standard Oil and other oil and chemical workers; pecking-house, Henderson textile, and others on strike for months; by the rubber, East Coast longshore, West Coast shipyard, New York hospital and other tens of thousands who have struck earlier.

The strike movement continues to mount with a million railroad workers preparing to strike if negotiations fail, as are many other hundreds of thousands of workers in communication, New York City transit, machine and electrical, aircraft and missile and in other unions in line for negotiations in the weeks ahead.

Not since the strike movement immediately after World War I or the upsurge of the mid-thirties, has the American working class experienced such rise of struggles. The current strikes are most often referred to as "automation strikes." This is because most common to them and most militantly disputed are issues arising out of the present-day sweep of technological changes, including automation, and the immense casualty of jobs in the process. The strikes are mass resistance to the condemning of millions of workers to the scrapheap, to relief rolls, to permanently depressed areas and ghost towns, and to a life of permanent insecurity.

The strikes are a mass fight-back against the offensive launched by big business on the economic and political fronts. This assault on unions, unmatched since the open shop drive of the twenties, was long prepared. The campaign for "right-to-work" laws in the states; the three years of Senate McClellan Committee hearings designed to smear and discredit trade unions in general; the propaganda by industry and government blaming wage increases for inflationary prices; the agitation against unions as "monopolies" and now the use of all the arts on Madison Avenue against "featherbedding" and so-called "management's right to manage" -- these are all stages of the anti-union campaign. These union-busting forces have scored a major success with enactment of the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Law through which, for the first time, the trade unions come under a fully-rounded government control and regulation system. Moreover the law gives the employers new weapons to limit the strike and boycott and the right of unions to organize, bargain, and assist each other in strikes.

The plan of attack calls for additional anti-labor "killer" legislation, such as applying anti-trust laws to unions, outlawing industry-wide bargaining, banning strikes in transportation industries, prohibiting use of any funds for political activity, a national "right-to-work" law, and compulsory arbitration in major industries.

The strike movement has reached a high level of intensity because Big Business, led by the steel corporations, have carried their attack to an assault on the most vital element of union protection -- the work rules and rights that give the workers at least a minimum of protection against insecurity, inhuman speed-up and exploitation under capitalism. Big Business, hypocritically crying for the "right to manage" aims to wipe out all such protective clauses and rules to weaken and eventually smash unions, and to clear the road for new technological changes at the expense of the workers.

As yet the workers are in the main limited in their current strikes to a defense of some of their long established rules and conditions, as protection against the encroachment of automation. But the unity and determination displayed by the steel workers and others have already registered deeply in the consciousness of the labor movement. The persistence of the struggle and its widened scope, can, if properly led, extend the current strike movement to an offensive character -- to a fight for more basic objectives, like the shorter work week already endorsed by most unions and other demands to meet the new technology and the new attacks.

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Moreover, the attack of Big Business upon the trade unions goes hand-in-hand with the general drive of reaction against the common people, spurred primarily by the most rabid pro-coldwar forces of the country, to foist an austerity era upon America. By austerity, Big Business means higher taxes and other balt-tightening sacrifices by the common people. The monopolies of America are beset by increasing contradictions in the world as increasing numbers abroad revolt against Wall Street domination; as the progress of the billion people in the socialist countries becomes more known to the peoples under capitalism; as more colonial peoples gain their freedom, and as within our country there is a "post-McCarthyite" awakening among the people. These monopolies seek to shift the burden of their difficulties, including the heavy armament load, on to the backs of workers, farmers, the Negro and other small-income people. That was the essence of the program outlined by Governor Nelson Rockefeller at the Economic Club and by other monopolists at the recent Congress of Industry of the NAM and other Big Business-run organizations. Some sections of Big Business seek to pump more vigor into their sagging coldwar drive by shouting such austerity is needed to "meet the Soviet challenge." They hope to hide the fact that in the Soviet Union living standards are constantly rising.

The sharp struggles, especially in steel, and the offensive of capital refute dramatically and forcefully, the class collaboration theories of top AFL-CIO leaders. They turn to nonsense the "mutual trusteeship" idea of David J. McDonald, the "non-aggression agreement" with Big Business put forward by George Meany, the "common denominators" between labor and capital sought by Walter Reuther and claims by these leaders that there is no class struggle in America. Moreover, the attack of Big Business upon the key and powerful steel union, has alarmed the trade unionists of the entire country and aroused on a general scale a greater spirit of unity and vigor and to some degree even class consciousness to resist the offensive of capital. The developing struggle is also identifying to the people their common enemy -- the same enemy of workers, of the family farmer, of the Negro people, the Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and other groups suffering discrimination and superexploitation. Thus, in the process of the developing movement, the struggle of labor will increasingly merge with the struggle of the Negro people and other groups for full rights as citizens and of the people on the farms whose purchasing power has reached a new post-war low.

The current strike movement is the most significant fight-back development since the labor movement, in the main, was taken by its leadership on the road of accommodation to coldwar policies, and even acceptance of the McCarthyism that the cold war came with. It is the first important break in more than a decade of stagnation and defeats.

We Communists meet at a moment when the labor movement has, indeed, come to a crossroads. Which course for labor -- the one that leads to new vitality and the passing over from a defensive position to an offensive for new goals and major advances? Or the course that leads labor further down the road to ineffectiveness and retreat? That is the question that today faces the labor movement in face of clear evidence that the workers are willing to fight and march forward.

That is the question that thinking trade unionists and union leaders are today pondering in the ranks of unions under pressure of widespread dissatisfaction among the rank and file and a recognition by ever-rising numbers that new answers are needed for the questions and problems facing labor in the present period. The questioning of old policies and re-examination of issues in quest for better answers is stimulating a powerful force for a new progressive trend in the labor movement. It is a challenge not alone to the old guard conservatism among trade union leaders; it is no less a challenge to the Communists and all other progressives and militants in the trade unions. How to stimulate this quest for new answers; how to encourage it into developing as a fighting movement for progress -- that's the big problem facing the active progressives of labor, and especially the Communists, to whom many rightfully look for initiative.

It is with that challenge and problem that the Communist Party concerns itself in this resolution.

#### The Situation in the Labor Movement

The steel and other strikes; the new vigor and stature of the Negro trade

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-T—Continued

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unionists in the struggle for conditions and for equal rights; the pressure for greater political independence in labor ranks; the growing demand for all-inclusive working class unity; the pressures for a real peace policy in many quarters -- all these trends are influences for a new forward-looking course. These trends are influences for a new forward-looking course. These trends are developing in spite of the hard-crust of old discredited policies and bureaucratic, institutionalized union machinery through which they must break through.

Some of the top leaders, above all Meany, laid the labor movement open to the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Law by collaborating with the McClellan Committee and, in fact, initiating through "friendly" Senator Kennedy a "moderate labor reform" bill which opened the floodgates of reaction in Congress. The end result was a measure termed by even the leaders of labor, the worst anti-labor law since Taft-Hartley. But even after the Law was enacted, many labor leaders promptly decided to "live with" the new Law and accommodate themselves to it as they did to Taft Hartley without appreciable resistance.

As against this policy of retreat, an example of militant resistance to the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act is the West Coast I.L.W.U.'s challenge of the arbitrary orders of the Secretary of Labor as well as its challenge of the constitutionality of the entire law. Several other unions have undertaken legal challenges on one or another feature of the law.

In the face of the intense struggle and clear evidence that big business is on the warpath against labor, George Meany revived the idea of an overall "capital-labor" agreement to eliminate strikes that he unsuccessfully advanced four years ago. Within the current framework, the Meany proposal can have no other effect but to hold back the resisting workers. The fact that Meany called for such capital-labor unity to revitalize the coldwar policy, makes his proposal all the more ominous. Moreover, just as the proposal for a "moderate reform" bill helped to enact the anti-union Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy law, so this proposal of Meany paves the way for the projected anti-strike bills.

Meany's outburst in the manner of a racist, at A. Phillip Randolph at the San Francisco convention of the AFL-CIO: the effort of some top AFL-CIO leaders to build up Senator Kennedy, the original "reform" bill author, as a candidate for the Presidency; the continuance of craft versus industrial union struggles among some leaders of unions when unity is needed to organize the 70% still unorganized; the refusal of the leaders of labor to open the way for contacts with unions of socialist lands in face of a breakdown of walls in most other spheres-- all these attitudes are the old policy of refusal to recognize the realities and the great changes that have come about in the United States and in the world.

The background to the harmful policies of many in top AFL-CIO officialdom is the history of the past 12 years, beginning with their acceptance of Wall Street's coldwar policies. This brought a new and a more reactionary content into the traditional class collaborationism of these leaders. In taking this course, these leaders based themselves on the concept that it will bring easy concessions to the labor movement, greater "respectability" and a "permanent prosperity" propped up by unending and rising expenditures for armaments and maintenance of military bases in all corners of the world. This course brought many of the labor leaders to a common ground with the outstanding warmongers, war profiteers and notorious enemies of labor.

To prove to employers that they were "dependable" and "responsible" leaders who could check the militancy of the rank and file, many of these leaders joined in the McCarthyite Un-American campaign to drive out of the trade unions Communists and other militant non-conforming trade unionists under the guise of safeguarding unions from Communist control. Thus in 1949 the CIO leaders expelled unions with a fourth of CIO membership who were among the most militant forces in the American trade union movement.

The consequence of this coldwar course are well known. It led to conformance with the Taft-Hartley Law, and virtual abandonment of efforts to repeal it. It led to a weakening of the labor-Negro alliance that could be built only on the basis of a real cleanup of jimcrow practices inside labor. It led to a halt of organizing efforts in the South and almost everywhere else. It led to alienation of labor from substantial sectors of the population

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-T—Continued

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that have been moving towards a peace policy. It led to the fostering of a virulent anti-Sovietism that culminated in the shameful spectacle of labor leaders, in contrast to most other sectors of the population, displaying a rudeness to visiting Nikita Khrushchev. It led to a decline of trade union democracy and an entrenchment of corrupt influences in some sections of the labor movement, while all attention was given to an alleged "Communist menace." It led to more than a decade of stagnation in the labor movement.

A serious consequence of those top leadership policies, that proved very harmful to all labor, has been a weakening of the influence and activity of progressive influence within the labor movement as a whole. The effect was a weakening of the positive influence progressives traditionally have upon the labor movement. This also narrowed the character and perspective of the trade union movement. This weakened the challenge to business unionism practices and the racketeering practices, initiated and inspired by employers, that it breeds. Weakened also because of this decline of progressive influence, was the vigilance against trading off of working conditions, speed-up practices, and violation of other vital interests of the workers.

Today it is not only the progressives on the left who realize that the rosy perspective envisioned by many labor leaders on the basis of the cold war was a sham. Many thousands now recognize it. It did not bring any of the promised results. Three recessions, with a fourth predicted by 1961, proved that there can be no permanent prosperity under capitalism, even with huge expenditures for armaments. The real effect of that policy of "class partnership" for the cold war was to expose the labor movement to the present fierce offensive by Big Business. It is precisely this weakening of the trade union movement and "flabbiness" (as Reuther called it) that encouraged the foes of labor to launch their offensive. But the steel strike and other strikes have shown that the workers are not "flabby" and that the trade union movement possesses the potential power which, if properly mobilized and directed, can defeat the offensive of big business.

— The past decade was not, however, all negative. There were some notable and militant strikes in that period (Harvester, Westinghouse, coal miners and three steel strikes, etc.) The "right to work" campaign of the employers met stiff and successful resistance in many areas, notably in California, Washington and Ohio. Some leaders, usually at lower levels, took a progressive position on certain issues or in some struggles. There were some notable manifestations of unemployment.

THE AFL-CIO merger of 1955 was also a positive development, reflecting a growing pressure in union ranks for an upward swing, for organization of the unorganized, for an end of inter-union strife, for more effective political action, and, above all, for a unification of strength and preparation for the oncoming offensive of capital that was already taking shape.

Unfortunately, the many good decisions and promises of the merger convention hardly went beyond the stage of resolutions. Like most of the objectives of the labor movement in the past decade, those decisions were blocked by coldwar and "class partnership" considerations. The employers, on the other hand, were spurred by the merger to work all the more vigorously for their drive against what they called the "labor monopoly."

#### The Re-emergence of Progressive Currents

In the recent period there has developed a growing dissatisfaction and restlessness in the ranks of the working people. These are arising from the ever-sharpening pressures and exploitation by the monopolists, and from the failure of labor's leadership to cope with the key problems and challenges confronting the workers. There is a mounting demand for fresh answers to such problems. There is, in particular, a growing dissatisfaction arising from the failure to deal adequately with problems of automation, organization, unemployment, speedup, anti-Negro discrimination, union democracy, independent political action, peace and other issues.

The working people and their more militant leaders are becoming increasingly aware of the efforts of monopolists to resolve their problems at the expense of the workers. The demand is therefore arising that the problems of automation, high taxes, inflation and competition must be met at the expense of the huge profits of these monopolists, and not at the expense of the working people.

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It is becoming increasingly evident to an even larger number of trade unionists that the labor movement cannot advance, but will instead continue to stagnate and retreat if it continues to pursue the policies and philosophy personified by George Meany.

This realization is giving forth some new progressive currents in trade union ranks for departure from "official" policy on one or more important issues. Some of these currents are stirring beneath the surface. Others find more open expression. They are evident in the rank and file movements in the struggle for shop conditions, often through "wildcat" strikes; in the dues protest movement in steel; in the broad and effective solidarity movement in support of the militant New York hospital strike; in the expressions from some leaders for greater independence by labor in the political field, some even calling for action or discussion of a third or labor party.

Other such expressions are the sharp criticism of the effort by some top leaders to build up Kennedy as a friend of labor; the movement for the impressive New York City Labor Day parade; Randolph's bold demand at the recent AFL-CIO convention for prompt and effective action to end racist discrimination in unions, and the strong indignation against Meany's abuse of Randolph; the movement for Negroes in top union office; the pressure for mass activity at the grass-roots level to combat anti-labor legislation, and for the building of an all-year round labor political action machinery from the precinct level up and for labor candidates. Then there were a number of trade union expressions away from cold war policy and closer to a peace position, as in part of the auto union's foreign affairs convention resolution. The State and City Central Trades and Labor Councils and Federations have been displaying increasing initiative in united trade union actions for solidarity in strikes, for legislative and political action and for defense of people's rights generally. Such initiatives should be welcomed and supported by progressive-minded trade unionists everywhere.

Hitherto progressive currents have come to light in struggles mostly on individual issues. They have not as yet taken the form of movements embracing a progressive position in a fully rounded out program. Moreover, the effect of these trends have so far remained limited in top leadership ranks. The present anti-labor offensive, however, and the sad turn of the partial 1958 election victory, are driving home a costly lesson among many that is bound to stimulate fresh thinking and strength for a renewed progressive trend.

All such thrusts in a progressive direction on one or on several issues should be singled out as examples that could advance the entire struggle. All progressive tendencies among the rank and file and among leaders, should be welcomed, encouraged and further developed for the purpose of promoting progressive action and class struggle policies and cementing greater unity and solidarity within the labor movement.

The necessity of struggle imposed by the current offensive, the militance of the rank and file, and the development of progressive trends are bound to have their effect on some of the present labor leadership, which can by no means be regarded as an unchangeable reactionary bloc.

Thus there is a realistic possibility for the emergence before long of a much broader base for progressive policies and democracy within the trade union movement -- a trend that could be strong enough to appreciably influence the unions to a new and higher stage of struggle against the monopoly interests and their political power in our country.

#### The need for a Counter-Offensive of Labor

Organized labor cannot content itself with mere defense against the growing torrent of blows rained upon it. On the contrary, if it is to defeat these and move forward it must launch a counter-offensive -- a crusade for advancement of the well-being of our country's working people.

Such a crusade can succeed if it is based on united action of the entire trade union movement as well as greater unity of action within the AFL-CIO itself. It calls for extending the united base of the trade union movement to embrace all independent and recently expelled unions, including the Teamsters' union which has engaged in an organizing drive rich in valuable lessons for the labor movement. It precludes demoralizing jurisdictional disputes and raiding. It demands broad rank-

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and-file participation in democratic unions, unity of all regardless of political beliefs, and the inclusion of Communist and other militant class-conscious trade unionists whose dedication to the interests of the working people has been proven to be an essential factor in organizing the unorganized and in waging effective struggle against labor's enemy. Such a crusade calls for greater attention and action on the special needs and demands of women and young workers who, next to the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican workers, are subjected to special unemployment, discrimination and exploitation. It calls for utmost support for the demands of women workers for health safeguards, for extended minimum wage benefits, for job upgrading, and for equal pay for equal work. For the young workers, it calls for expanded apprentice training programs with equal rights for Negro and Puerto Rican youth, a Federal Youth Workers' program to provide job training at prevailing wages, and adequate pensions for adult workers to create additional jobs for young workers. The trade union movement is also called upon to support the social and educational needs of American youth generally. Such a crusade, above all, must be based on a higher level of Negro-white unity and on militant struggle for Negro rights.

A counter-offensive of labor will necessarily embrace the problems of automation, peace and disarmament, Negro rights, jobs and aid for the unemployed, organization of the unorganized, independent political action, democratic rights, and international trade union solidarity.

### 1. Automation and a Fight for Jobs and Security

Automation and the use of atomic energy are ushering in great possibilities for new industrial progress. The advances of science and technology in the service of the people should indeed be something to cheer about.

But when science and new technology are in the hands of Big Business, whose interest is not the welfare of the people but only the lust for maximum profits, then this great achievement turns into its very opposite. Automation, added to already unused productive capacity, creates still more unused capacity and unemployment, and a permanent army of unemployed even during an economic uptrend.

Life, especially the example of the Soviet Union, has now brought forth ample proof that only the social system of socialism can give the people the maximum benefits from automation and other technological advances.

But American workers are faced with a growing problem of insecurity and mass unemployment, mounting even in periods of economic uptrend. The displacement of workers by automation and other technological advances is adding to the industrial reserve army at a growing pace. Along with this, the shifting of plants gives rise to a growing number of "distressed areas" and "ghost towns" of chronic mass joblessness. Automation is being used as a means to increase speed-up, destroy skills, increase the work-load and cut wages.

The fight for the shorter workweek has therefore become the No. 1 economic objective in the fight for jobs and security. A cut in the workweek can, no more than any other measure, be a fundamental solution of job security under capitalism. But it is at least a significant measure of protection against the steady trend of throwing workers on the scrapheap.

Other demands are also called for, such as the establishment of "automation funds" by employers to be used for retaining of workers, severance pay and other such purposes. These, however, should not be accepted as a substitute for the shorter work week. Still other demands are coming to the forefront, such as smaller work loads; longer rest periods and vacations; greater and not less control of speedup by unions; the right to strike on speedup and arbitrary layoffs; restraining, resistance to wage cuts, and higher wages.

The tendency on the part of some union leaders to accommodate themselves to the elimination of many unemployed workers from industry and to drop such workers from union membership rolls can only divide and weaken the ranks of organized labor. The situation calls for the organization of the employed and unemployed in a united struggle for jobs, job security and for a broad program of government and industry assistance to unemployed.

The unions must fight to prevent those workers who are displaced by automation or other changes from being thrown on the scrap heap. They must also wage

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a struggle for governmental measures to assure that the benefits of automation are passed on to the general public in lower prices and greater consuming power.

## 2. The Fight for Peace and Disarmament

The desire for peace and friendship among peoples the world over is no less strong among the rank and file membership of the trade unions than among the American people generally.

The world-wide movement for peace, including particularly the aspirations for peace on the part of the American people, as well as the great successes of the socialist world, have created the conditions and the atmosphere for the success of Khrushchev's visit.

The Khrushchev visit and its fruits, outstanding among them the prospects of a summit meeting and the greatly enhanced movement for disarmament, have in turn tremendously advanced the fight to end the cold war and have raised the fight for peaceful coexistence, disarmament and ending of atomic tests, to a new level. In the struggle for these goals, it is essential to include the influence of labor. Yet, despite the overwhelming popular sentiment for peace, the leadership of the labor movement has not based itself on these realities, and by its support of reactionary cold war policies has kept labor from taking its rightful place in the fight for peace.

But the desire for peace is no less strong among the rank-and-file membership of the trade unions than among other sectors of the American people. The progressive forces in our country properly look to the trade union movement to assume leadership in the struggle for peace and disarmament, and must wage a determined fight to alter the present state of affairs. Communists and progressives must urge the labor movement to adopt a policy of full support to peaceful coexistence and closer relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union. In particular, every effort must be made to end the policy of shunning all contacts and to open up exchanges of union delegations between the two countries, and with other socialist countries as well. Toward this end, the resolution adopted by the convention of the Woodworkers Union, calling for such exchanges with their Soviet counterpart, is most helpful. So, too, are similar sentiments which have been expressed in other sections of the trade union movement.

In addition, the labor movement must be brought fully into the fight to open up trade with the socialist world. It must be won to support of disarmament and a peacetime economy, and away from adherence to the hoax that armaments are the answer to unemployment.

Total disarmament or even partial disarmament at first, is both a glowing promise and a serious challenge. The promise lies in the possibility of releasing and utilizing the huge sums now wasted on armaments for social benefits, lower taxes, advancement of health research, recreation, housing, education, and above all the realization of mankind's dream for an end to wars, to fears of atomic annihilation and poisonous fall-out.

The challenge lies in the need to evolve a program designed to provide jobs for workers displaced by disarmament and for those released from the armed forces, and to replace wasteful war production with useful peaceful production that will benefit the people.

The working people and all people of this country have a right to look to the trade union movement for a practical program to meet this challenge for the realization of the hopes of all people for a peaceful world. (In another document the Communist Party has proposed such a program.)

More and more of our working people are becoming aware of the fact that the challenge of the socialist countries for peaceful coexistence and competition between the capitalist and socialist systems for a better life for the people is not a threat but a promise from which our people, especially our working people, can only gain.

## 3. The Struggle for Negro Rights

Working class unity in daily struggles for economic demands and in the bigger struggles against the enemies of the working class demands the fullest recognition by white workers and white union leaders of the right of Negro workers to a status of full equality.

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For the unions and the entire labor movement to energetically champion the struggle for equal rights for Negroes inside and outside the unions, is to serve their own interest as well as the human rights of the Negro people. The disgraceful attack by Meany on Randolph at the recent AFL-CIO convention, because he justly demanded action in the unions against racist discrimination, and the shameful defeat of the efforts at the UAW convention for the inclusion of a Negro on the Executive Board, demonstrate that too many union leaders do not yet grasp this truth.

The formation of the American Negro Labor Council under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph will undoubtedly advance Negro-white unity, bring nearer the end of Jim Crow in some unions, and raise to a higher level the labor-Negro alliance, which is vitally necessary for the unions and for the interests of the white workers as well as for the Negro people.

The Negro workers have been hardest hit by unemployment and by all other measures directed by the employers against the workers. Discrimination in regard to upgrading in plants and in other ways is still a general practice in industry. The labor movement must fight more energetically against such discrimination. To this end it is essential that the promise of fair employment clauses in contracts, non-discriminatory apprentice training programs must become an effective part of every union program.

There are increasing signs in many parts of the country that a greater recognition of these problems is developing in unions. To move forward, there must be a greater recognition that the labor-Negro alliance cannot remain merely a relationship between top officers. It must be reflected on all levels and based on united struggles of Negro and white. There can be no greater contribution to such an alliance than effective action inside the unions to end all racist discriminations.

Such action is especially necessary if the trade union movement is to succeed in launching an effective counter-offensive against Big Business.

#### 4. Organizing the Unorganized

A major objective of a counter-offensive of labor is necessarily a militant, all-out campaign to organize the unorganized and especially to organize the South.

The South can be organized only if the campaign is not just a routine effort as in the past, but an all-embracing crusade for the economic demands, for the right to vote, and other democratic rights of all the people in the South, Negro as well as white.

Such a crusade would break down the barriers between white and Negro workers, forge their united action and thus generate the power to sweep out the domination of the Dixiecrats -- the backbone of anti-labor and anti-Negro reaction in Congress.

#### 5. Independent Political Action

Another major front in labor's counter-offensive is independent political action.

Organized labor has not moved forward adequately to establish its political independence. The AFL-CIO has pursued a policy of dependence on the two parties of big business, tailing after them and, with some limited exceptions, neglecting to build its own year-round political activity and organization.

Such a policy has failed adequately to protect the interests of the working people and their unions. The Taft-Hartley Act, the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act, the use of the Taft-Hartley injunction to break strikes, the blocking of civil rights legislation, the constant invasion of civil liberties and the unholy alliances between the Dixiecrats, reactionary Republicans and reactionary Northern Democrats -- these are the fruits of such a policy.

The defeat suffered by labor and all the people at the hands of the 86th Congress after labor's successes in the 1958 election against the "right to work" measures, has aroused demands in labor's ranks for a reassessment of political action policies pursued by the AFL-CIO. It is becoming increasingly clear that the trade union movement cannot cope with the all-round offensive of capital without a more effective and realistic policy of independent political action.

To achieve such a policy the task of the progressives is to influence the

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trade union movement to come forward as leader of all progressive and forward-looking people in our country in order to forge united political action with its allies and all democratic forces. This can be accomplished if the trade union movement brings about a serious change in its political policies and program.

An effective independent political action program calls for the development of labor's political action organizations (COPE, LLPE, PAC) as year-round people's precinct organizations of movement on issues, and not just as skeleton machinery during elections. It calls for pressure for labor candidates, vigorous participation in primaries in support of labor, Negro and other candidates with forward-looking ideas and consistent pro-labor positions. It calls for practical and realistic alliances of labor's political organizations with the organizations of the Negro people, and extensive direct cooperation and unity with farmer groups and organizations and with other forward-looking sections of the people. The proposal of the recent UAW convention for a conference of such a nature prior to the nominating conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties for a united approach on candidates is a welcome step in the right direction.

Such a policy would lay the basis for effective political action in 1960 and from this could emerge the understanding, the experiences and the forces for a new coalition for the realization in the near future of a new party of labor, the Negro people, farmers -- a party of the majority of the American people, capable of curbing monopoly domination in our country.

To achieve this end, all left and progressive forces in the trade union movement should devote their utmost attention and energies.

#### 6. Democratic Rights

The reactionary forces in Congress have erected a wall of restrictive anti-labor legislation from the infamous Taft-Hartley Act to the shackling Landrum-Griffin Act. This wall must and can be broken down by means of a sweeping campaign of united trade union action for the repeal of such legislation or the trade union movement will become chained to government control of unions for the benefit of the monopoly interests.

In the center of labor's counter-offensive must be a fight for repeal of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, a fight against new anti-labor legislation, and a fight for positive legislation to protect labor's rights. At the same time there must be the utmost resistance to all plans for accommodation to anti-labor legislation.

But it is high time that the trade union movement realized that it cannot defend its own rights without fighting for civil liberties of all Americans, and in particular without conducting a struggle against anti-Communism and the denial of the rights of Communists. The labor movement should recognize anti-Communism for what it is -- a weapon directed against the working class, the trade unions and the American people generally by their common enemy, reactionary big business. It is incumbent upon labor to raise its voice, as some unions have already done, against Taft-Hartley conspiracy trials as well as against other repressive laws and witch hunts.

The Communist Party will do all in its power to spread the understanding of these vital tasks in the labor movement, the understanding that its fight for constitutional liberties is part of the whole fight for the democratic rights of the labor movement.

#### International Trade Union Solidarity and Unity

American workers have a common interest with the workers of other countries. The American imperialists, who strive to exploit the workers of all countries, seek to maintain their position by pitting the workers of one country against those of another. Today, American big business interests are moving many plants abroad and exporting with them the jobs of many American workers. At the same time they try to convince our workers that it is the workers of other countries who, by virtue of their low wages, are depriving them of their jobs. About 1,000 American companies have producing plants abroad employing about one million workers.

To meet these problems, and to advance the aspirations of all working people for peace, our trade union movement must help to advance the welfare and living standards of workers in all countries, and develop cooperation and united action between our unions and unions in other lands, including the World Federation of Trade Unions and its affiliated unions.

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It should give all-out support to the efforts of the Latin American peoples to free themselves from the bondage of American imperialist profit hunters, and in particular to the valiant struggles of the Cuban people and working class.

Moreover, our working people should stop our union leadership from playing the game of American imperialism abroad by acting as its anti-Communist spearhead within the labor movement of other countries. This only divides and weakens their unions in the fight for higher living standards.

The Communist Party

The past few years have witnessed an all-out campaign to destroy the rights of Communists within the trade unions, through the anti-communist provisions in the Taft-Hartley Act, through security firings, through congressional committee witch hunts and other measures. This has been all too often abetted by some in the union leadership itself who strive to lead the pack in "cleaning out the communists." Communists have been attacked as "foreign agents," as elements which have interests separate and apart from the working class and which "use" the trade union movement to achieve these ends.

These slanders must be tirelessly exposed, and the fact that Communists have no interests apart from those of the entire working class must be brought home to the American workers again and again. This is a fact which the past history of our working class has repeatedly demonstrated. The Communists have a proud record -- a record of pioneering in industrial unionism and organization of basic industries, in the fight for unemployment insurance and other social welfare measures, in the fight for the rights of Negro workers and in many other of the major advances made by labor. Even our enemies are compelled to recognize that Communists are capable of the utmost devotion and self-sacrifice, and many in the trade union movement know from their own experiences that effective organization and struggle is impossible without such a dedication. The annals of U.S. Labor history for the past 40 years give a great deal of evidence of the vital role the Communists have played in many of the historic struggles and advances of labor.

Although weakened by McCarthyite repressive laws, by persecutions, imprisonment of its leaders, and hounding of its members in the unions, Communists have nevertheless made their contributions also in recent years in the struggles of the unemployed and in the struggles for labor's rights and the rights of the Negro people. Communists, as active unionists alongside their fellow workers, have helped in every way to defeat the assault of the steel companies. In all such struggles our Party has striven to influence the entire labor movement toward more effective solidarity and united action.

In regard to our Party's position on key problems confronting labor, our Party leadership nationally and on State levels has not adequately brought the Party's ideas to the trade unionists. There has been an inadequate appreciation of the importance of trade unions and activity in them. We have not always reacted in time and with required energy. Whenever we have done so, the working people whom we reached have displayed interest in the opinions of Communists and have considered our ideas as constructive contributions to their thinking and to their struggles.

Our Party must strive to overcome these shortcomings. In this manner we shall more effectively fulfill our Party's objectives to help strengthen the labor movement, advance the interests of the workers and all people.

Communists in the unions seek to establish the closest and friendliest personal relations with their fellow workers, to create the utmost unity and co-operation for their common objective of advancing the best interests of the working people and the trade union movement.

Today the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act seeks to shackle the unions, and also seeks to place further obstacles in the way of participation of Communists in the labor movement. But it should be clear that this Act, using the bogey of anti-communism, opens the door to prosecution of trade unionists of all political views. It demonstrates anew and more sharply than ever the harmfulness of anti-communism to all of labor. The Communist Party itself, while continuing to make its contributions to the present struggles of the working class will fight tirelessly for the abolition of all such repression. And it will do so in relationship to the fight to advance both the immediate interests of the working class and its ultimate interest -- socialism.

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Today, socialism has become a subject for the widest discussion. More and more, American workers are weighing its merits and examining it in all seriousness as a way of life. Communists will join in these discussions and strive to foster the understanding of socialism among workers. They will promote the circulation of the Marxist press and literature. They will find ways of building the Party in the ranks of the American working class and of bringing to the American workers, out of their own experiences, the understanding of the necessity for a socialist solution of their problems and needs.

# # # # #

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-U

THE WORKER

As favorable as are the objective conditions for the successful realization of the decisions of the 17th Convention of the Communist Party, these historic goals will not be reached without the building of The Worker into a popular, mass, Marxist-Leninist press which has gained the confidence of tens of thousands of labor, the Negro people and other minority groups.

The Editorial Board and Staff of The Worker are conscious of the need to strengthen, improve The Worker politically, in coverage, in analysis, as well as to make its style more popular. A recent all-day critical review of The Worker in which Comrade Hatleway and Kushner participated with the Staff and representatives of the National Committee and the New York State Committee, decided on a number of measures towards this end.

In this direction we also greet the agreement reached by The Worker and the Midwest comrades to publish a Midwest Edition beginning May 1, 1960.

The anti-monopoly movement, the peace forces of America, the Negro Liberation movement, organized and unorganized labor, the national minorities of our country, those forces fighting for the peaceful co-existence of countries with divergent social outlooks will find in The Worker a dedicated supporter of all for which they fight and a press that interprets events from a Marxist-Leninist position and in the interests of a socialist society in the USA.

The Worker has been seriously affected in terms of its circulation and its financial supporters by the critical struggles through which the progressive forces of America fought against the intrigues and anti-Constitutional hysteria provoked by the McCarthyites and directed in the main against the Communist Party. It has been seriously weakened by the inner struggles of the Communist Party.

But despite these blows, despite weaknesses associated with the production of The Worker in its content or management The Worker stands today as one of the ideological bulwarks against the attempts of the metropolitan press of monopoly to win the minds of the American people for its war economy.

The building of The Worker is not for Communists just another of its several tasks. The building of The Worker, strengthening the financial base and support of The Worker, giving fundamental aid to those who seek to restore the Daily Worker becomes that task without the successful achievement of which the establishment of a powerful peace movement, an invincible labor and Negro liberation movement is impossible.

Therefore, the 17th Convention of our Party instructs the incoming National Committee to make the building of The Worker a responsibility to be assumed by the Party as a whole and by every individual member of the Party.

In assuming this great responsibility this Convention believes that the National Committee should place a major political duty upon all Party leaders to give guidance and specific attention to the building of Worker circulation.

The Worker can and must be carried to the American people.

This Convention believes that promises and preparations should be made early for financial aid to The Worker's 1960 financial campaign.

This Convention proposes to the incoming National Committee to organize a financial campaign for support of The Worker for \$75,000 or more which will begin on the 36th anniversary of The Worker, January 13, and end on or before the 1st of May.

The present circulation of The Worker is between 13 and 14 thousand. This Convention believes that that circulation can be successfully raised to 20,000 within the year 1960.

It therefore instructs the incoming National Committee to create a standing Worker Builders Committee which will immediately formulate a circulation campaign to begin together with the financial campaign.

It is obvious that conditions do not permit uniform responsibilities. But this Convention believes that no District of the Party should be without a press director.

We believe that the greatest possible coordination should exist between those responsible for the building of The Worker and those responsible for its production.

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Everywhere efforts must be made to help create Build the Press Committees, or Volunteers for the Worker, or what have you.

While The Worker is not the official Voice of our Party, we hereby declare its building indispensable to the building of the Communist Party and the many movements seeking to create a security and peaceful life to the American people.

# # #

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-V

## RESOLUTION ON CUBA

Cuba's military commander-in-chief warned his people this week, on December 7, that the nation may be invaded by the armed mercenaries of Dictator Trujillo, of San Domingo, before January 1. The world has already been told about the five thousand cutthroats from the Nazi army and the Franco fascists, who were being trained to make the invasion. Thus, Cuba -- the country where the revolution against imperialism in Latin America has reached the highest point in history -- is in great and immediate danger.

This poses an immediate responsibility of utmost historic gravity before the American people, and its most decisive sectors, Labor, the Negro 18 million, all honest democrats and progressives who want to see a nation achieve sovereignty, independence, economic and political advance. The issue is one that must be at the very top of the agenda for Communists in the United States.

Not only is revolutionary Cuba threatened by military invasion, it is subject today to the combined onslaught of powerful forces manipulated by American imperialist interests who dread the remarkable advances being made by the new government. Capitalist newspapers, State Department officials, television, radio, the combined agents of ex-Dictator Batista as well as Dictator Trujillo -- all have joined forces to defame, libel, smear, and injure in every conceivable way -- economically, politically, militarily -- that country whose advances are regarded as sacred by the 200 million inhabitants of Latin America, as well as by the vast majority of the people of the world -- in the colonial and semi-colonial world, the socialist nations, and all enlightened mankind everywhere.

Imperialism fears that the new Cuba will succeed. It sees that unity of all revolutionary forces within Cuba has been strengthened this year since the hosts of freedom forced Batista to flee just over a year ago the end of this month-- December 31. He and those he represents hope to make their comeback on the anniversary. They want to make it before that unity -- which cements all genuine revolutionary forces in the island--makes such advances that the forces of reaction can never again possibly win the day.

Advances are being made, first of all, in the countryside. The Land Reform is moving ahead at a magnificent rate. Peasants are getting land. Farms appropriated by the government from Batista hirelings are being run as cooperatives. Farmers are not only getting land from the new government, but also farm implements, farm instruction, substantial credits. Cement homes are going up to replace the age-old, rickety bohios, the straw-thatched one-room huts. Schools are being built everywhere to wipe out the more than 50% illiteracy.

Similarly in the cities, among the working people. Rents have been cut by 50 % everywhere. Electric rates have been reduced drastically by intervening in the enterprise of the big Wall Street corporation, Electric Bond and Share; telephone rates, for example, were cut 50 % from a dime to a nickel.

It is also necessary to note that trade-union democracy has been strengthened greatly by ousting the labor-dictator Mujal who fled with Batista, even though he had had the blessings of ORIT, the Regional inter-American workers organization, The State Dept. instrument to work among the Latin American workers which never found it necessary to declare one word of criticism against his bestial acts, this Mujal whom Cuban labor calls the "chivato" -- the stoopigeyon -- because he turned over any unionist Batista wanted to the dictator's Gestapo for torture or death.

The tenth Congress of the Cuban Labor Movement, the CTC, saw further labor advances when the most powerful mujalista elements were ousted from office and influence; when the two million strong confederation voted to break ties with ORIT, which they branded as a tool of the State Department and reactionary leaders here in the USA.

The people of the USA can learn much from Cuba's democracy. The new government, in enunciating its set of principles a year ago, placed the elimination of racism as one of the major immediate objectives. The advances in this decisive field can be gauged by the fact that Cuba's head of the army today is a Negro; the head of the airforce is a Negro; the head of the military forces of Oriente, the principal province, where a third of Cuba lives, is a Negro. Consider the advance here in the USA the same could be said of us. No wonder the press has clamped a conspiracy of silence upon such advances; and instead, has embarked on a smear campaign of unprecedented proportions.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-V—Continued

Cuba - 2

The United States is the most powerful imperialist country in the world.

The imperialist forces that exploit and oppress the Cuban people and the rest of the Latin American nations are the same monopolists that exploit the workers of the United States.

This fact places upon the workers and progressive forces of the United States the responsibility of developing solidarity with and aid to the embattled people of Cuba and the other nations of Latin America.

One hundred years of struggle by the Cuban people against Spanish and U.S. imperialism resulted in very little freedom for the Cuban nation until the democratic-popular anti-imperialist revolution led by Fidel Castro and the 26th of July movement and supported by 95 percent of the Cuban people including the Popular Socialist Party brought into existence a genuine liberation movement for the first time, free from corruption and determined not to compromise with the main enemy of the Cuban nation: American imperialism. That is why American imperialism is forcefully resisting every step taken by the Castro government.

Whether through diplomatic channels such as the recent State Department statement protesting against Cuba's anti-Americanism, or by direct armed attack from airplanes based in Miami, Florida, U.S. imperialism is using every means to undermine Cuba's progress toward complete freedom from U.S. imperialism.

The people of the U.S. and especially the working class have much in common with the Cuban liberation movement. Cuba is fighting for her sovereignty and freedom from foreign intervention as did the American people in the course of their revolution of 1776.

Moreover, the working class of the U.S. today has a big stake in solidarity with the Cuban workers. The workers of Cuba harbor no illusions as to who is their real enemy. When they cry "Down with Yankee imperialism," they are resisting the same monopolists who are the bitterest exploiters of American labor.

Cubans emigrating to the U.S. have set high standards of militancy and courage in trade union struggles.

## WE THEREFORE PROPOSE TO:

1. Mobilize U. S. public opinion and try to organize support, especially in the trade unions, for the Cuban people.
  - a. To answer the lies and slanders being spread by imperialist circles about Cuba and its new government, through The Worker, leaflets, meetings, and forums, wherever possible.
  - b. To encourage sending telegrams of greetings from trade unions to their opposite numbers in Cuba on appropriate occasions.
  - c. To help organize assistance to Cuban workers' families -- money, clothing, blood donations.
  - d. To organize help for Cuba's school children -- contribute paper, pencils, recording machines, etc.
2. Develop continuous activity, not just sporadic actions, in support of Cuba. Keep supplying facts of background on the latest developments and outlook of Cuba.
3. Build Friendship Organizations involving non-Cuban people with the specific and main slogan and actions of "Hands off Cuba."
4. Send delegations to Cuba for trade union and cultural exchanges.
5. Popularize Cuba as an ideal vacation spot and thus help build up the tourist trade of a free Cuba.
6. We shall strive to arouse our people to combat any reactionary move to wreck the Cuban sugar quota and other measures directed to weakening Cuban economy.
7. We call on progressive Americans to protest the unwarranted action of steamship companies trying to destroy Cuban tourist trade.

For all these reasons, this convention must see a great emphasis put on the entire question of Cuba and Latin America.

# # #

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-W

## A HOUSING PROGRAM FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

-- To Build More Homes, To Provide More Jobs --

(First Draft)

EVERY AMERICAN FAMILY HAS THE RIGHT TO A DECENT, SAFE AND SANITARY PLACE TO LIVE. Yet 17,000,000 families now live in "substandard" homes -- dilapidated, overcrowded, unsanitary, without modern sanitation, hot water or heat, and dangerous to health and family life (*Fortune*, 1958). And additional millions are living in housing which is deteriorating into slums.

2,000,000 new dwelling units are needed yearly -- the minimum to replace substandard housing, reduce overcrowding and house our increasing population, according to the National Housing Conference and the AFL-CIO.

30,000 units of Federal public housing have been built per year (average) since 1945. That low figure will trickle down to nothing soon. Congress and President Eisenhower killed public housing in 1958.

1,000,000 private dwelling units per year (average) have been built since 1945, 71% are for families with incomes over \$8,000, or less than 20% of our population.

A simple problem in arithmetic.

Nearly 1,000,000 needed homes per year are not being built. And 17,000,000 families are still being denied the right to live in decent homes.

\* \* \*

How did President Eisenhower and Congress solve the housing problem in 1958 and 1959? Here's their method:

1. Squeeze the home-buyer between "tight money" and rising mortgage payments. Price low- and middle-income families and minority families out of the home-buying market.
2. But guarantee high profits to builders and banks through FEA, FNMA, HOLC and other government housing agencies.
3. Refuse aid to limited-profit, cooperative or non-profit housing.
4. Carry on "slum-clearance" under Title I -- which tears down minority and low-income communities and gives land at cut-rates to private builders for expensive (\$200 per month) apartments.
5. Kill off federal low-rent public housing.

LET'S LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC HOUSING:

The federal program of low-rent public housing was born in the 30's out of public pressure to provide jobs, clear slums, and rehouse the one-third of the nation which was "ill-housed." It had the vigorous support of the labor unions, the tenant and unemployed councils, the Labor Housing Conference, the Housing Study Guild, the Lower East Side Housing Conference, the National Public Housing Conference. Housing pioneers such as Mary Simkhovitch, Senator Robert F. Wagner, Nathan Strauss, Helen Alfred, Vito Marcantonio, Catherine K. Bauer, Dr. Edith Elmer Wood, B. Charney Vladeck spoke up for public housing. The Communist Party mobilized the support of thousands of Americans who signed petitions, wrote postcards and visited their legislators to demand public housing.

In the years following the establishment of the Public Housing Administration in 1934, almost 1½ million public housing units have been built. Millions of families have had the opportunity of living in clean, sanitary, decent housing at reasonable rents. Such public housing is needed to fill a gap in our economy which cannot be filled by private builders. This fact was recognized by even such a conservative as Senator Robert Taft.

In 1949 the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill provided for 810,000 public housing units to be built within 6 years. Now, ten years later, only 300,000 of these units have been completed. The first cuts in the program were blamed on the "cold war," and then on the Korean War. Now Eisenhower and Congress have eliminated federal public housing entirely.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-W—Continued

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Public housing should be improved and increased -- not eliminated. Now there is no war; rather, the possibilities are growing of maintaining prolonged peace. At the same time, there is increasing unemployment in many areas despite cheerful Administration predictions of prosperity.

Here public housing is needed desperately. In the largest city in the U.S., ten families apply for each apartment built by the NYC Housing Authority. One of ten get public housing...the other nine remain in furnished rooms or in slum apartments. Seventeen million American families live in substandard housing and cannot afford to buy privately built housing. Homes for families earning under \$8-10,000 per year are not being built by private industry, but must be publicly subsidized in one way or another.

How much does it cost to subsidize public housing? The total cost per year is now only \$71,000,000, less than one-tenth of one percent of our total 1958 federal budget, and less than two-tenths of one percent of our 1958 military expenditures. In other words, for every dollar we spend on armaments, we spend two-tenths of a cent on subsidies to public housing.

Ike and other VIP's ride around in \$27,500,000 worth of jet transports, enough money to subsidize 137,500 families in public housing. The cost of one atomic bomb -- \$47,000,000 -- would subsidize public housing for 235,000 families for a year, and would pay off in happier, healthier families. Money for war is money down the drain. Money for housing is an investment in people.

It is time for those who backed public housing in the 30's to speak up again. The unions, whose members need housing and jobs -- the citizen groups -- fraternal organizations -- churches and synagogues -- community organizations -- all those who want good housing -- the home-hungry millions.

Every American family has the right to decent, safe and sanitary housing. Private enterprise admits that it cannot provide such housing at reasonable prices. The government must provide housing -- and not just dribbles of public housing, but enough to rehouse 17,000,000 families now denied the right to a decent, safe, and sanitary place to live.

Public housing has been severely criticized and attacked in the last few years. It is true that there are many things wrong with public housing. Those faults can and should be corrected. But we must retain the basic principle -- that the government has a responsibility to house families which cannot afford private housing.

PUBLIC HOUSING -- WHAT IT SHOULD AND SHOULDN'T BE

Let's take a new look at public housing -- let's even give it a new name which describes what it should be -- government-sponsored community housing.

I. The Federal government should build 1,000,000 units of government-sponsored community housing per year for 5 years.

Government-sponsored community housing should not be housing which:

- \* Destroys entire communities in the name of "slum clearance."
- \* Excludes single persons, childless couples or large families.
- \* Evicts families which try to better their standard of living and increase their income.
- \* Harasses tenants with constant threats of eviction for "undesirability," with loyalty oaths, frequent income checks and housekeeping snooping operations.
- \* Allows projects to deteriorate through poor maintenance.
- \* Discourages tenant organizations and allows tenant morale to sink.

On the contrary, government-sponsored community housing should:

\* Set income limits for admission to include family incomes up to \$10,000 per year and single person incomes up to \$5,000, with a sliding scale of rents according to income. (The present maximum in New York City is \$4,700 for low-rent housing and \$7,450 for unsubsidized middle-income housing.) Each project should include families of all income levels rather than separate low- and middle-income tenants into separate projects as is now done.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-W—Continued

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\* Set rents at 15 percent of the tenant's income (which is about the national average in private rental housing) instead of the 20 percent now charged in public housing. In figuring family income, do not include money earned by children or by secondary wage-earners (usually the wife), because such income is usually not dependable.

\* Not evict over-income tenants but increase their rents according to income up to a reasonable maximum (not requiring subsidy).

\* Build projects which are soundly constructed, attractive, well designed and cheerful, and maintain them properly.

\* Provide facilities for community life, such as small stores (with preference to neighborhood businesses displaced by demolition), adequate recreational areas, meeting rooms for community groups including a tenant organization, playgrounds and parks.

\* Enforce the Constitutional ban on discrimination in public housing. Discrimination in public housing is still practiced in most of the country.

\* Build on vacant land to provide new housing for families from slum areas, proceed with slum clearance. Otherwise slum clearances merely tears down old buildings without providing the tenants with anything better. It forces the displaced tenants into other old buildings and results in more overcrowding and more slums. Building on vacant land is usually cheaper and involves no relocation problems.

Slums exist because of the tremendous profits made on them by landlords and mortgage holders. The present slum clearance program rewards slum landlords by buying their properties at inflated prices. Instead of rewarding slum landlords for neglect, take the profit out of slums. Several methods can be used: 1) Stop buying slum properties for slum clearance at inflated prices. Condemn the properties as a public nuisance. 2) Enforce multiple dwelling laws to require a landlord to maintain his property in decent condition. The city government should take over the property and maintain it at public expense if necessary, or should deduct the expenses from rental income. 3) Punish failure to maintain buildings by stiff fines and jail sentences. 4) Tax property transfers in blighted areas to limit speculation or repeated selling of slum properties at higher and higher prices. In other words, government-sponsored community housing which preserves community life, its institutions and residents of all income levels, all ages and all races, small businessmen, big families, small families, single persons, the elderly and the young -- that is the kind of housing worth building, worth living in, worth taking care of.

II. In addition to such rental housing, at least 1,000,000 units per year should continue to be built for sale. Home-buying should be made easier for families earning under \$8,000, and for minority and farm families.

VA and FBA loans should have lower interest rates and longer repayment periods, and FBA policies which discriminate against minority home-buyers should be eliminated. The cost of homes should be reduced by providing direct government loans to home-buyers at little or no interest and with a 40-year repayment period. Such loans should be made available to cooperative non-profit corporations or directly to low and middle income families, and to minority families who are refused loans from banks because of discrimination. A large part of the cost of a home is in interest charges and discounts. Eliminating these exorbitant charges by banks and mortgage companies would lower the cost of new homes and make home-owning possible for thousands more.

A program should be set up of liberal, low-interest, long-term loans to home-owners for rehabilitation, improvements and major repairs. Such loans, now difficult to obtain from banks, would permit owners to maintain property without big rent increases.

III. A new executive department should be created -- the Department of Housing -- to unify the dozens of housing agencies, commissions, authorities, etc., now scattered in the Departments of Commerce, Treasury, Labor, etc.

IV. Government housing policy should aim at eliminating segregation and discrimination in housing, not encouraging it. The Urban Renewal Administration, the FBA, VA, and Public Housing Authority, and other housing agencies have all been found guilty of encouraging discrimination in housing in the 1958 report of the Commission on Race and Housing, titled "Where Shall We Live?" In fact, the urban renewal program itself, with its concentration on projects in Negro and Puerto Rican communities and its failure to provide relocation housing, has served to aggravate the problem of discrimination by forcing people out of "slum clearance" areas into

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-W—Continued

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other, already overcrowded ghetto slum areas.

A HOUSING PROGRAM VS. THE HOUSING CRISIS IN THE U.S.

In 1930, before any government aid to public or private housing, 8,000,000 families lived in substandard housing. About 30 percent of the population could afford to buy new private housing. Now in 1959, 17,000,000 families are in slums and the housing industry is building for only 20 percent of the people.

Why is the housing crisis becoming worse in the U.S.? First, there is a tremendous profit in slums. The return on slum properties is double and treble the return on decent housing. Thus, the government makes only feeble gestures at requiring slum landlords to make necessary repairs and maintain rental housing in decent condition. Slums spread faster than any phony "slum clearance" program can tear them down.

Secondly, the private construction industry operates for profit under capitalism. It cannot build profitably for low income families and, therefore, builds only for high income groups.

Third, the profit motive rules out the possibility of real "city planning." Concentration cannot be planned according to housing needs but only according to the ability of the prospective home owner to pay the high costs of construction.

Fourth, the real estate lobby and the construction industry influence federal housing policies. Thus, FHA continues to guarantee the builder and the mortgager maximum profits -- and public housing dies a slow death.

The profit motive under capitalism is the underlying cause of the housing crisis and the success of any housing program is therefore limited under capitalism.

Albert M. Cole, then head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency of the U.S., told the convention of the National Association of Real Estate Boards this year, "There is not and never will be enough money in the Federal Treasury to eradicate all the slums in this country." In other words, the U.S. cannot solve the housing crisis under capitalism.

Premier Khrushchev reported to the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union recently: "In the next seven years we are to build houses with a total floor space of 650,000 square meters, which is 15 million flats. This is more than all the housing units built to date since the Revolution. Rent, including public utility services, amounts on the average to 4-5 percent of a family budget. The aim to end the housing shortage and thereby solve the housing problem in the following ten to twelve years is being carried out successfully."

Although the Soviet Union lost 25 million dwelling units in the war and still has a serious shortage, home building is increasing at a rapid rate which has astonished many recent visitors to the Soviet Union, including Eleanor Roosevelt. Socialist planning has enabled the Soviet Union, after it solved its primary problem of rebuilding industrial capacity, now to turn its energies to building homes for its people.

We, the Communist Party of the U.S.A., believe that in a society not operating for profit, by using socialist planning, the U.S. could use its total resources and great production capacity to plan for housing for all. Socialist planning enables a nation to estimate its housing needs and plan accordingly, to plan for replacement, to clear slums with proper relocation, to build for those who need it most, not just for a few.

We believe that only under socialism can the U.S. really achieve the goal of our housing program -- "every American has the right to a decent, safe and sanitary place to live." But until then, we believe that it is up to the American people and their organizations to fight for a housing program NOW which can bring what we want and need NOW -- more homes and more jobs.

We ask that you and your organization read and consider the housing program here presented. Your suggestions and comments are invited. Many of the proposals in this housing program originated with and are supported by others in the housing movement.

But, above all, action is urgently needed. The principle of government responsibility to provide housing was won in the 30's by a great housing movement representing millions. The housing need is still here. The right to decent housing can be reaffirmed by another surge of popular demand.

Issued by: Communist Party of Manhattan County  
23 West 26th Street,  
New York 10, N.Y.

Phone: Murray Hill 5-5750

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-X

NATIONAL NEGRO COMMISSION REPORTS  
SUBVERSION IN JACKSON MISSISSIPPI

Monday, March 27th nine (9) Negro students from Tougalou Southern Christian College located 12 miles from Jackson the capital of Mississippi came to the city. They were all duly registered students at their college. They were children of tax paying parents. Their ideals embraced the building of a free world concerning which they had heard so much. This included the extension of the constitutional guarantees of American democracy until it embraced them.

These Negro lads walked into the public library. It is Mississippi's major depository of scientific and other books of learning. But across the portals are the humiliating, unAmerican and subversive words "For White Only". Thus unscientifically, unConstitutionally and arbitrarily does that state distinguish between its citizens and mankind.

Part of the monstrous offensive against the human and constitutional rights of Negro students, a deterrent to their education, a barrier to equal opportunity is a denial of their rights to use public facilities of city and state.

The Negro students walked into the library and sat down. They were exercising their rights as Americans. They were **defying those who spat upon the Constitution** and whose contempt for human dignity in a black skin is destroying the moral stamina of the American people and the integrity of the nation.

Negroes of Jackson had declared that the segregated jim-crow library facilities afforded them were "totally inadequate".

All of these youth were arrested. Police charged them with disturbing the peace although they had acted with dignity and without noise.

On Tuesday their fellow students staged a demonstration at the College supporting the action of the heroic nine. The President of the college tried to break it up but was stopped by cries of "Uncle Tom".

Wednesday, March 29th the trial took place. Over the doors of the jim-crow court house is the inscription "...for the people to secure to them liberty and justice under the law". For black people the beginning of justice is steeped in humiliation and the end based upon distinctions of race and color.

Negro citizens filled all the seats allotted to Negroes. They overflowed on to the court house steps and street. It was a peaceful manifestation of moral support consistent with both duty and legal rights. It was a tribute to the heroism of a proud people.

Official Jackson had prepared for such a show of patriotic fervor and devotion. Upon the crime of racial discrimination they prepared to super-impose a crime against law and order and justice. Dogs were brought in from Vicksburg Mississippi to be loosed against law abiding citizens who sought justice under law and to safe-guard their constitutional rights. To such a low level has the racist policies of government reduced national morality and the integrity of the nation.

The dogs were used. As the peaceful Negro citizens cheered the youthful defendants who were entering the jim-crow court the chief of police ordered the dogs set upon the people. Dogs have been used in America before against unarmed and peaceful Negroes seeking to exercise and enjoy their constitutional and human rights. But never before in post Civil War history have dogs been imported for the purpose of terrorizing citizens seeking enforcement of the American Constitution.

Women and children were beaten and bitten. The "agents of law" pursuing a criminal policy smashed a democratic action calculated to protect the Constitution. The State of Mississippi unfurled the hated banner of race bias above the masthead of its capital in defiance of the Federal Constitution and under the fiction of States Right

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-X—Continued

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The youth were convicted, illegally convicted because the court admitted that their action had not constituted a breach of the peace. It might have done so the court held. The crime of racism had been compounded by the use of fierce dogs against those who called for the application of constitutional rights and in a jim-crow court that un-American act was further compounded by an illegal dispensation of law.

The youth were given a suspended sentence of 30 days and fined one hundred (\$100.) dollars. The legal terrorists sought to reduce the magnitude of their crime against constitutionally mandated "due process of law" by suspending the illegal sentence. But the crime of Mississippi looms larger because of the futile efforts at its concealment behind the exercise of police power under the fiction of State's Rights.

The leadership of the NAACP in Mississippi said:

"As far as Negroes are concerned law enforcement has broken down."

When apprised of this fact Mr. Robert Kennedy Attorney General of the United States said:

"We're looking into the situation to see if there is any basis for federal action."

But the NAACP officials had added:

"The law enforcement officials themselves are committing the violence against the Negro citizens."

Proof has been adduced that those officials are in some cases members of the terrorist White Citizens Council and that the state of Mississippi out of taxes raised from black as well as white has been financing activities of this organization of racist terror and violence.

The conclusions flow with irrefutable logic.

1- The state of Mississippi is in criminal violation of the Constitution of the United States and in its jim-crow practices criminally violates the Charter of the United Nations and its Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2- The crime of the state therefore takes on international as well as national proportions.

3- But the state of Mississippi is an inseparable part of the United States.

4- The failure of the law enforcement agencies of the United States to move against this specific racist crime but more particularly its failure to move against the racist laws of Mississippi which deny to Negro citizens their rights under the Constitution and the inalienable rights of man, make the USA an accomplice after the fact.

It follows that those who love the Constitution must act to defend it. Mississippi has raised the fight against constitutional government to a new level. It now seeks the destruction of national morality and has most seriously impaired our nation's integrity before the world.

The race hatred mongering of Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland has been a mighty aid to that states criminal officials. His racist expressions are in violation of his oath of office and a rallying call to all criminal racist activists to do violence to Supreme Court decisions against segregation.

HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-X—Continued

The fight then is a fight to save the Constitution and the democratic institutions of government.

- 1- The Senator from Mississippi must be impeached.
- 2- The criminal White Citizens Councils seeking to take over State government in Mississippi must be outlawed.
- 3- The Federal Constitution must be upheld.

Here however another fact must be presented. In several states the Doctrine of State's Rights has been substituted for the Constitution of the United States in relation to the rights of Negro citizens. These states are a part of the Union only by sufferance of the Federal government which has by omission condoned the violation of the Constitution. They have transgressed the Constitution.

All this is in violation of our responsibilities to the Charter of the U.N.

The case of Mississippi against the people of the U.S.A. and civilized mankind " must be processed by the action of the people if they would save the Constitution and secure for us an honored place in the family of nations."

American reaction is on the rampage against peace and domestic tranquility.

A counter-offensive must be mounted if we would save these institutions.

HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-Y

17TH NATIONAL CONVENTION

REPORT OF CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

Proposed Changes to Party Constitution

NOTE: Please refer to original Constitution. We indicate here only the changes. Additions are underscored. Deletions are in parentheses.

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ARTICLE II.

Purposes

Section 1. Add to line 5 after "political activity"

(a) to attain a peaceful world so that the American people and all mankind may work out their destiny freed from the shadow of nuclear war; (b) to attain full equality for the Negro people by banishing jim crow and realizing the fraternal unity of Negro and white;

ARTICLE III.

Membership

Section 4. Line 8, delete ("if feasible")

Line 9, after "good etanding" add:

They may, however, apply for readmission within six months, and upon approval of the club, be permitted to pay all back dues and maintain their former standing.

ARTICLE IV.

Structure

Section 2. Page 9, line 7, after by-laws, add the word or. line 8, delete (or state committee), retain "may determin". Delete all that follows up to end of line 23.

Retain balance of page.

Page 10, line 2, delete (at large)

line 6, delete all material starting with (a vacancy among members) and ending with (vacancy occurred) on line 12.

ARTICLE V.

National Organization

Section 1. Page 12, line 8, delete (within the first six months of the year.

Section 4. Page 13, line 12, delete (at least 90 days). Add four months, to read:

Prior to regular National Conventions, four months shall be provided for discussions, etc.

Section 5, in the present Constitution has been deleted by referendum.

New Section 5 to read:

Section 5. That each National Convention determine the number of members of the National Committee and that election be by secret ballot.

HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 5-Y—Continued

Constitution - 2

ARTICLE V

National Organization New Section 6 to read:

Section 6. The National Committee shall be elected at the National Convention in the following manner: That State Conventions shall make nominations to the National Committee of any member of the Party eligible in their own or any other State. Such nominations together with any other nominations made directly at the Convention shall appear on the election ballot at the National Convention unless a nominee has in the meantime declined.

That in the election of the National Committee all areas of the country be included with due regard to the size of the membership and the character of the state organization.

Present Section 6 then becomes Section 7.

Section 7 will then read:

Section 7. Vacancies shall be filled by the majority vote of the National Committee. Members may be recalled for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee.

Present Section 7 becomes Section 8.

Present Section 8 becomes Section 9.

Present Section 9 becomes Section 10.

Page 15, line 6 from the bottom,  
Change to read: In fulfillment of its duties instead of  
(In connection with its duties)

Present Section 10 becomes Section 11.

Page 16, last line, change to read: at least twice a  
instead of: ( at least four times a )

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ARTICLE VI

Rights and Duties of Members

Section 1. page 15, line 14 delete (They also have the right in accordance with Section 2 of this Article, to dissent from decisions which have been made.)

line 18, change to read:

Members should be active in carrying out the program of the Party, to read and circulate its press and literature, to increase their knowledge of scientific socialism and to attend club meetings regularly.

Section 12, page 21, line 10, delete (without prejudice)

HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 5-Y—Continued

Constitution - 3

ARTICLE VII

Disciplinary Procedure and Appeals.

Section 3. Page 22, line 8, add after "any member" or party committee

line 13, add after "in that club" Clubs or individual members may request the help of the next higher committee on such charges.

line 16, after "trial committee" add, of the club or appropriate higher Party body.

Section 6. Page 23, line 1. After "Any Member" add or committee.

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EDITORIAL CHANGE:

Adopted by the 16th National  
Convention of the Communist Party  
U.S.A. February 9-12, 1957.

As amended by 17th National Convention

EDITORIAL PROPOSAL: The Constitution should include an index.

# # #

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 6

PROJECTIONS for 1960

State Convention  
Communist Party of Illinois

"The planning of work must be restored, discarding the negative features brought to light from past errors. It is necessary to distinguish between planning for what the club can do in conditions it directly controls, such as the public work of the Party, and planning in relation to the mass movement of the people.

"It is one thing, and an essential one, to plan how we shall increase the circulation of The Worker, what leaflets we shall issue, what contacts we shall work up for recruiting, etc. It is another, and harmful thing, to transpose this type of planning to the arena of mass organizations and trade unions.

"For this, another approach is required. To achieve this, it is necessary to develop not only maximum clarity on the Party's mass policies, but also thoroughly to learn the problems and needs of the people among whom we work, to be ever attentive to their thoughts, moods and readiness-to-respond, to develop maximum flexibility in tactics based on what we learn from listening to the people and on readiness to consult with them on ways and means for advancing the common interest."

-- 17th National Convention, CPUSA, Resolution on Party Organization.

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I- To Win Support for the Mass Policies of the 17th Convention:Peace:

- # Organize study of convention Keynote and Lumer Report.
- # Use Perlo study of Illinois-Chicago to project state and city peace-time economy projections.
- # All leading bodies and commissions to develop concrete approach to peace directed to population sectors with which they are concerned.
- # The Peace Commission shall make a detailed study and report of all existing peace movements and activities; issue a periodic "peace ammunition" bulletin to aid work in unions, mass orgs., communities.
- # All leading bodies and commissions - but first of all the Board and officers - shall periodically consider problems of how to develop mass peace activity, with special attention to their relation to the 1960 elections.
- # Steps shall be taken to increase personnel in peace activity.

1960 Elections:

- # Organize study of convention documents on 1960 elections.
- # Use Perlo study as basis for projection of concrete issues and Party program for 1960.
- # Concrete measures shall be worked out to increase personnel in labor and independent political action organizations.
- # Overall coordination of Party's political action subcommittees to be achieved.
- # A periodic "political & legislative bulletin" shall be issued as an aid to mass work.
- # A guide for section and club discussion on the 1960 elections shall be issued by March 1st.
- # Enlarged conferences of all members possible residing in a Cong. Dist. or other political subdivision - depending on the contest, issues & possibilities involved, - shall be organized to work out local policy and tactical approaches.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 6—Continued

- 2 -

★ Health, Education, Housing and Welfare:

- # A city-wide Party conference on housing and integrated communities shall be organized by April 15th to work out programmatic, tactical approaches.
- # The Perlo survey shall be utilized to develop concrete programming.
- # A Commission on Health, Education, Housing & Welfare shall be set up to help coordinate, develop and guide the work on these issues (such as the attack on ADC, etc), and in mass organizations concerned with one or more of these problems (PTA, etc). It shall convene conferences or workshops in relation to issues and specific mass organizations.

Full Equality for the Negro People; for Unity of Negro & White:

- # Under the leadership of the Negro work commission, a Party conference shall be arranged on problems of advancing Negro independent political action and representation, before April 30th.
- # The Commission & Board shall review implementation of 17th convention policies in relation to major organizations of Negro liberation and other mass organizations; and disposition of forces in relation to same.
- # A special conference shall be organized on problems of winning white workers and white people generally to the struggle for equal rights and Negro-white unity.
- # The Negro work Commission and Industrial sections shall consult on problems of advancing the role of Negro workers in the Negro liberation movement and in the labor movement; on problems of advancing Negro-white unity.
- # The Negro work commission, assisted by the educational commission, shall carry through a sustained cadre-training program with a special emphasis on Negro workers, women and youth.

Advance the Fight for Civil Liberties:

- # A civil liberties commission shall be formed to guide & coordinate the work of the Party in this field.
- # The commission shall keep members informed on all major developments in the defense of civil liberties, supplying information and other aids to mass work; drafting statements of the Party analysis & position on democratic rights from time to time; giving attention to problems of strengthening civil liberties movements and mass organizations, and how to develop and strengthen the unity of civil liberties, labor, Negro and Spanish-speaking movements on issues.
- # In consultation with various sections, a number of communities shall be selected for special attention in helping develop grass roots civil liberties activities.

Win the Youth for Peace, Democracy, Security; to our Party:

- # The Youth Commission, in consultation with the Negro work commission and other leading bodies, shall explore avenues for follow-ups to the Youth Marches; for development of activities to combat discrimination against Negro youth.
- # Party sections shall organize discussions on the Youth Resolution of 17th Com., and with help of the Youth commission, work out concrete applications in accord with possibilities; with particular attention to youth mass organizations, building Party youth clubs, development of teen-age clubs, and Marxist study groups of non-Party youth.
- # The Youth commission, with assistance from the Industrial division and the community sections concerned, shall elaborate a plan of industrial concentration.
- # In consultation with the Party's political commissions, the Youth commission shall develop an approach to youth political action.
- # In consultation with the Peace Commission, the Youth comm. shall work out a program of youth peace activity, especially in relation to the developing student peace movement.

Nationality Groups:

- # Priority attention shall be given to making a break-through among Spanish-speaking groups;
- # A commission for work among Slav Groups shall be set up.
- # Periodic review of work among the nationality groups shall be organized.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 6—Continued

-3-

II- Restore Concentration Attention to Basic Industry Worker:

- # The entire Party shall give priority attention, in all its work, to the problems of the workers in auto, steel and transport.
- # The State Committee - and the board and officers first of all - are charged with responsibility to bring about a turn in concentration & rebuilding.
- # To establish appropriate forms for assistance and guidance to the trade union work.
- # The incoming state board and officers are empowered to examine, with the Industrial division, the situation therein and to work out necessary organizational changes on the basis of changes in the membership and in the labor movement.
- # Periodic, factual and information-discussion material on developments in the working class and its unions, especially in relation to concentration, shall be made available for the whole Party.
- # The state leadership shall work out concrete problems of how the community forces can assist in relation to the Party's labor & concentration policies.

III- Additional Measures to Strengthen Mass Work:

- # The board and officers shall give priority attention to problems of Peace, Political Action, Concentration, Negro Liberation and Youth.
- # Three regions shall be set up with community sections to enable more concrete, intensive approaches, political approaches, to the solution of mass problems; by Feb. 15th.
- # A survey of membership shall be conducted in June to establish what mass organizations members are in; to facilitate determination of such questions as where to strengthen our work, the kind of help most needed for work in mass organizations, etc.

IV. Build the Mid-West Edition of The Worker:

To inaugurate and sustain the Mid-West Worker slated for May 1st, we must:

- # Renew some 180 subs and secure 120 new ones, for a total of 600 by May 15th.
- # Develop a big increase in bundle circulation by May 15th.
- # Develop a separate bundle apparatus of some 25 comrades, with one or two in overall charge, for systematic canvassing and sale of The Worker at five or six projects and other points of priority (concentrations, Negro, youth, Spanish-speaking, etc).
- # aim for a stable circulation of some 1750 by the end of 1960.

V. Build and Strengthen the Party of Socialism:Education:

- # To conduct 2, possibly 3, Marxist Social Science Schools; and extension classes where needed.
- # To give special attention to classes for youth.
- # To provide more systematic, consistent guidance and other aids for club educational discussions; to arrange a conference on problems of club educational life. Priority shall be given to mastery of the 17th Convention policies; and problems of the united front.
- # To secure a 25% increase over 1959 in sales & distribution of mass literature.
- # To insure a 50% increase in distribution of leaflets, folders & flyers. To issue periodic Newsletters for mailings. To conduct a series of public forums and mass meetings.

Cadre Training:

- # To select some 15-20 younger, newer comrades for special attention in a one-year development program in which 7 or 8 leading comrades shall work closely with a few cadres in relation to guided self-study, periodic discussions, etc. This program to get under way by March 1st; to be under control of the Educational Director.
- # A program of self-study and political education shall be included in the work of all leading bodies, including the board, for their respective members.
- # Aid shall be developed for self-study by members in general, and for new members in particular.

HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 6—Continued

- 4 -

Recruiting:

- # To achieve a 10% increase in membership by May 1st; every club shall strive to recruit 1 member by May 1st; and an additional member in the balance of the year.
- # To establish 4 new youth clubs in selected areas.
- # The officers are charged with responsibility to bring about re-establishment of the Party downstate.
- # To cooperate with, and encourage, the desires and efforts of some former members and friends to establish groups on a non-Party basis for discussion and study.

Finances:

- # To achieve a 15% increase in income in 1959.
- # To raise \$15,000 in the combined Party-Press Drive from April 1st to July 1st.

VI. Implementation and Control:

- # The officers and board shall give consistent priority attention to the five major areas outlined above. Together with its appropriate arms, they shall elaborate and be responsible for fulfillment of plans in these respective fields.
- # Sections and clubs and commissions shall elaborate plans for their respective areas based on the direction and spirit of these projections and 17th convention policies.
- # In good part, the success of these projections depends on a modest but essential expansion of district-wide personnel, toward which the solution of which the cooperation of all sections is needed.
- # The State Committee shall periodically check fulfillment and related problems of these projections and plans.

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 6—Continued

Excerpts from Main Report to 2nd session of State Convention

The report dealt with the 17th National Convention (a section which is omitted from these excerpts); an account of the stewardship of the state leadership (which is given in condensed form here); proposed Projections for 1960 (which is attached as adopted by the convention) and problems connected with their realization (condensed here).

After a presentation of the 17th Convention's work, the report went on:

\* \* \*

The test of the correctness of the mass policies of the convention begins now. In a year or so, we should be in a position to examine the results, to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the line, and to undertake the necessary adjustments to align it with developing life and experience.

....It is our task here to work out the measures for gearing the Party to the 17th convention's mass policies, to chart the means for making the called-for turn, and to elect a leadership charged with following through.

Toward these ends, we must review the stewardship of the state leadership and discuss the projections for 1960.

Since the 16th convention, in the struggle for the Party, for its unity against the monopoly enemy, for mass work among the people, the Illinois Party has played a positive and important role.

Despite severe limitations, serious losses and some defections, the Party helped stimulate go-forward tendencies to overcome paralysis. It consistently tried to pursue a policy of combining united front mass work with timely projection of Party and Left initiatives. In the main, it waged a principled struggle against factionalism and its methods from any and all quarters. Ridding the Party of a virulent left-factional grouping, it also fought for a correct line on the basis of open airing of differences and helping many comrades who tended in one or another direction to get their bearings again.

....An especially serious weakness was the absence, by and large, of the practice of evaluation and critique of the activities and struggles of the people and of our participation in them. This failure prevented us from drawing many lessons from experiences, learning from mistakes, developing more fully the understanding of the whole Party, helping the leading comrades overcome their individual and collective weaknesses.

The resolutions of the 17th convention, elaborating on the problems of restoring collective work, demand the reinstitution of this and other practices of Communist work.

Examining the work of the board in a general way, we must come to the conclusion that it did not achieve the necessary collectivity in developing policy... It did not always work in the best way in the sense of political-mindedness.

What were the reasons for this?

Chiefly, I believe the reasons are to be found in 1) some of our methods of work and also in some of our organizational forms; 2) some problems of the period in which we functioned.

As to methods of work, a good basis for assessing our stewardship is to be found in the estimate made in the National Resolution on Party Organization, which says:

"Although there has been improvement in collective work during the past two years, the present situation leaves much to be desired. Both nationally and on the district level there is a widespread tendency to substitute individual action for collective work. Individual leaders report on their work infrequently or not at all, are not held sufficiently responsible to the collective."

This is a pretty accurate description of what exists in our district as well. To the extent that collective work has improved, it would apply more to the state committee and some of the commissions than to the board. We have not yet developed a proper relationship between the Board and its various arms, the commissions, etc. The collective political level of the Board hasn't been such as to ensure its overall political leadership of all the work in the best political sense. The Board

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 6—Continued

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has not singled out 5 or 6 chief tasks and issues of top priority to live with.

In addition to shortcomings in methods of work, some organizational forms were not the most conducive towards effective leadership and work. .... The attention to the community sections was far from satisfactory.

Our weaknesses also have part of their roots in the situation in which the Party found itself. There was a general loss of confidence in the Party and its leadership. .... In the underestimation of the Party that set in, tendencies developed for individuals, among members and leaders both, to go their own way; this tendency intensified in cases where leading bodies failed to call for reports from people entrusted with responsibilities. Individual methods supplanted collective methods. And this was accentuated by large difficulties in drawing people into leading responsibilities, by the withdrawal and holding back of some forces, further aggravating the difficulties in the way of restoring and developing collectivity. In these circumstances, departure from the principle of like-mindedness on basic policy questions in leading committee as an essential condition of collective work, and its replacement by giving places to opposing trends in these committees (the right to dissent beyond the limits of democratic centralism), were also factors impeding the development of collective work.

In brief, we had a highly abnormal situation. It was extremely difficult to solve many important problems of leadership in a normal way; that is, on the basis of established, tested Party norms.

This situation characterized the Party nationally and in the various states and in the given circumstances may have been unavoidable. But it would be wrong to conclude it was inevitable. Ebbs and flows in the development of any Communist Party are inevitable since it is a living organism, but the duration and depth of a given ebb depends, among other factors, on the quality of leadership that can be given at the time. ... We must draw some additional lessons.

Some thought the answer to the problems of leadership were simple: insure a certain kind of composition and you have it. To be sure, it is basic that Party leadership rest in large part on working class and oppressed people composition. But this is not enough.

Others thought that a so-called "more democratic" mechanism for election of the state and national committees would automatically insure correct leadership. So the federal principle replaced the time-tested Communist concept of the Party convention as the highest expression of the will of the organization, and hence, its highest authority. Superficially, it has the "appearance of democracy", but we now know that it not only tended to undermine democratic centralism, it contributed little towards overcoming the abuses against which it was supposed to have been directed. The search for constitutional guarantees to avoid abuses often become an evasion of digging deeper for the political shortcomings which give rise to the abuses. This is a lesson we are all learning as a result of the recent past, and in its full mastery do we have one essential means for combatting bureaucracy and other abuses.

Still others had the simplest answer of all -- replace the leadership, or change this leader for that. This was the worst answer, for, since it was put forward as a general proposition, it would wipe out years of experience embodied in the leadership or in leaders, without any constructive alternative, without digging into the problems involved.

The common weakness of all these approaches is their superficial reaction to surface manifestations. They did not dig deeply enough; tended to seek answers in the realm of ideal conditions and ideal, infallible individuals. In substance, they end up differing little from the infantile, subjective concept of "good guys" and "bad guys".

But these answers and their many variants do serve to throw some light on the nature of a deep-going, general problem of our Party. This acute problem is subjectivity and subjective approaches to our problems....

\* \* \*

Looking ahead, it is necessary that leadership first of all provide ideological and political clarity, and secondly, that it be based on the realities of the Illinois and Chicago situations.

The Projections for 1960 should be regarded as part of this report. ... They attempt to outline the minimum necessary tasks before the Party and its incoming

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 6—Continued

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leadership especially. It is a work-schedule and a directive for achieving greater cohesion and collectivity in our work. It doesn't spell out everything; rather, it provides the collective ways and means for getting this done. They provide some of the necessary mechanics for breaking out of the holding operation concepts and for moving out and ahead.

However, without a determined ideological struggle to restore the norms of Communist conduct, these projections will remain mere mechanics. The struggle for Communist standards of behavior must begin with all our leading cadre, both in mass work and in the Party. Criticism and self-criticism has to be a daily way of life and must be directed, first of all, to moving the Party out among the people, to make the Party a more effective mass force.

Collectivity must be seen as a system embracing the whole Party. It must exist in the clubs, and not only at club meetings. It must be achieved between two or more comrades working in a mass organization or local union. It must be operative in all the work of the sections, commissions, state committee, board and officers.

If the chief aim of collectivity is to ensure the widest possible consultation as the means of working out correct policy and in the evaluation of past experience and policy, then it is clear it can't be done solely on the state committee level. It is impossible to achieve the necessary collectivity merely by the size and composition of the state committee, board and officers, for obvious reasons.

It is also essential that a system of leadership and a style of work be developed which permits the widest collectivity based on a more or less logical and necessary division of labor, especially in relation to mass tasks. This calls for a series of arms of the state committee, commissions and other forms, as set forth in the Projections, and their proper coordination.

But what does it take to establish these various necessary collective bodies...? It means that the personnel for all this must be found. It means overcoming the idea that a few leaders can think about and plan for everything. It means that leaders and members for the commissions must come from those engaged in the mass work, and from the sections and clubs. In other words, the Party's district-wide cadre corps must be enlarged.

...If the district leadership is to lead, it must be widened and its rolls enhanced. It exists not only to service the sections and clubs, but first of all to give political leadership and guidance. The sections cannot be viewed as autonomous Communist parties living unto themselves or on the basis of co-equality with the national and district centers..., as has been the case in some instances.

The Illinois district is determinant in relation to policy for Illinois and Chicago, but it is subordinate to and follows the policies and leadership of the National Convention and National Committee. The section committee is determinant in relation to concretizing and applying the policies of the Party to their given areas, but they are subordinate to and follow the leadership of the state convention and the elected state committee.

The national committee has the right to intervene in any district and the state committee has the right to intervene in any section.

In this sense bureaucracy is not so much a structural question, and arises not from these elementary rights and duties of the national and state committees, as it is a matter of the absence of collective methods and style of work.

The autonomy of districts and sections which arose in practice over the last decade didn't strike so much against the target of bureaucratic practices as it hit and hit hard at the concept of central direction and leadership to the work, inducing paralysis and passivity and contributing to the holding concept operation. None can deny that our Party has paid dearly for this. But to overcome this situation it is necessary to restore and rebuild the capacity of the national and district leaderships to lead. A concerted drive of the Party to do this on the basis of building collectivity from top to bottom, in content as well as form, is the best guarantee we have that the restoration of this elementary Communist norm need not be and will not be accompanied by renewed bureaucracy in general.

The experiences of the past years prove that autonomy is no antidote to bureaucracy, for, as Comrade Flo said at a recent meeting, we have also had the bureaucracy of anarchy; that is, the bureaucracy of individuals going their own way, of some section leaders tending to pull away on their own, some leading comrades in mass work doing the same, etc.

. . .

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 6—Continued

- 4 -

A few words on the question of mass work and Party work....

In preparing for the section conventions and club discussions, we...call your attention to the 17th convention guidance on the two types of planning needed... plans for that over which the Party exercises direct control, such as its own public activity, etc. - and planning in relation to the mass movements of the people.

It is necessary to have both of these types of plans and approaches simultaneously. To have one without the other sets up conditions for one-sided development to either the right or the left. This does not mean that at one or another time, in a given set of conditions, it is not necessary to emphasize one type of planning as against the other. That depends on the concrete situation.

But it would be wrong to conclude that in general, at all times, planning for what the Party and the Left shall do is subordinate to and can only be derivative from what can be done in mass planning, or vice versa. For example, it would be wrong to conclude that we cannot build the circulation of The Worker until we have attained success in mass planning, until our comrades in mass organizations have developed their work to the point where they can get readers for the paper in the mass organizations.

To place the question this way is to blind ourselves to the independent role of our press and party in placing issues, questions and clarity before the people in helping to initiate mass activities, etc. If there is insufficient movement on some issues today, then one reason for it is that we have insufficiently developed the independent role of the press, the Party and the Left. If we can speak of holding operation concepts holding us back, then this is especially true in relation to The Worker. For some time now, the prevailing mood has been "We'll do well to hold our own, to just renew our subs and maybe get a few new ones to make up for losses."

If a break is to be made with this way of thinking and the habits that go with it, it requires a new bold approach to building the bundle to some 400 or 500, and a special apparatus involving some 20-25 comrades engaged in this essential work. If we can reach 400 to 500 lowest-paid, Negro, Spanish-speaking workers and youth at a half dozen housing projects and other focal points week in and week out with The Worker, it will make a big difference in our capacity to influence the situation in a number of key unions and mass organizations, and facilitate all our mass work planning.

By the same token, it would be wrong to conclude that organized work and a systematic approach to unfolding mass work in locals and mass organizations is dependent on and can only flow from independent Party and Left public activity on the outside. To adopt this one-sided view would negate entirely the role of organized work in the mass movement and the need to be with the people as they go through and learn from experience. A one-sided emphasis on planning for what the Party and the Left can do independently may have the superficial appearance of organized mass work, but in reality it becomes a reliance on spontaneity, for it casts the Party and the Left in a role aside from the mass movements and in the position of calling on them to come over to the Left with no forces at work among them for moving the masses in the desired direction.

Even as we strengthen the independent work and role of the Party and the Left, it is necessary to strengthen our work in the mass organizations, to improve our positions in them and our attention to their problems....

At the same time, the problem of building the Left and its initiatives must not be viewed as meaning only setting up left organizations. What is needed is a left trend in all mass organizations and not only in the unions...and not as ends in themselves, but as bases from which to further build the united front on the urgent big issues with wider forces and for projecting more advanced policies....

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...This report would be incomplete without addressing itself to some of the special features of the inner situation in Illinois.

....The 17th Convention policies provide the sound basis on which the unity, cohesion and forward motion of our Party can be built. Towards this end, we must face up to what it will take to bring about the necessary Communist reconciliation.

It is no secret that certain things of a factional nature took place at the first sessions of this convention. Those incidents had their origin in an approach to the Party, its leadership and problems which have been rejected by the 17th Convention.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 6—Continued

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Those comrades who put forward views which were defeated and who now proclaim their support for the 17th convention, must re-examine their past positions and see wherein they were wrong. Without this their agreement with the 17th convention will lack conviction and some of them may even carry on as though there never was a 17th convention.

The Party has a correct approach to trade union leadership, a clear-out position on the united front, on the two-party framework, on the struggle on two fronts, on the estimate of the 16th convention and on other questions around which there has been controversy. These questions are no longer up for grabs. The attitude and position of the Party on them has been resolved by the 17th convention. We are all called upon to unite on that basis.

In this sense there is hardly anyone in the Party who can say that on all questions his position before the convention is identical with the outcome of the convention. Everyone has to make some changes, big or small, and bring himself up to date and into line with the policies adopted. But some comrades have more changes to make than others and, most of all, those who became enmeshed in factional approaches.

As comrade Hall said in his summary - even if you were right, factionalism is wrong. Factionalism as a method of struggle in the Communist Party became obsolete and anti-Party long ago, at least with the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism. There is no justification for it whatsoever. This must be recognized and openly admitted by the chief sources of factional approaches in our Party as a condition, in their case, of continued functioning in the Party.

The unity of the Party must cease to be a unity of trends and opposing viewpoints. We must build a situation where leadership is not based on having representation of trends in the Party. And comrades who insist that unity be so based, now, after the 17th convention, are either blind to what has happened, or are misreading the meaning of the 17th convention.

It is wrong to characterize what happened at the first session of the state convention as representing a tendency to purge dissenters or spokesmen for a certain tendency. No one was purged from the Party. It is extremely unfortunate that some very hard and effective workers were defeated as delegates to the national convention, but they must face the fact that they brought it on themselves by the positions they took. The delegates here value and appreciate the activity and mass work of these comrades very highly, but they placed an even higher value on the need to bring an end to the holding operation and the inner-situation on the basis of correct policies, and not on the basis of the views of the defeated comrades or the views for which they spoke. And the outcome of the 17th convention fully sustained their intentions and thoughts. It is necessary for the defeated comrades to recognize this, to identify themselves with that which is healthy and constructive for our Party, to dissociate themselves from that which caused them this anguish. If they adopt the posture of having been wronged, they will further out themselves off from the main mass of the membership and the policies of the Party. If they feel they must now huddle closer together in defense of one another and demand recognition from the Party, not as people who are any longer united by certain factional influences, but as comrades who were formerly so united, then they still haven't thought through the full meaning of the 17th convention and still harbor hangovers of former allegiances and group feelings. This convention must demand nothing less than a complete break-up of any factional groupings, a complete end to relationships among certain comrades based on factional approaches, and the development in their place of Party relations within the established Party structure, based on the 17th convention policies and on Party procedures.

At the same time, every step taken by any of these comrades to really break away from factional associations and to comport themselves full-heartedly and completely as Communists must receive the understanding, warm welcome and cooperation of all comrades. Frozen attitudes on the basis of past position, relations and bitterness must be melted away. The Party needs every one of its members, and many more. It needs them to carry out the decisions and policies of our conventions. It needs unity on the basis of those policies. Above all, it needs an end to the corroding inner-situation that has obtained, an end to negativism, and full face to the mass work.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 6—Continued

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This does not mean there is no room for differences. There is plenty of room for differences on how best to carry out the policies of our Party. Nor does it mean there shall be no more criticism. On the contrary, we need more criticism and self-criticism of the kind discussed earlier in this report. But we don't need destructive negativism and the undermining of confidence in the Party and its leadership. We need a critical attitude, yes, but in the framework of a positive approach to our Party, its policies and leadership, to our class. Positive and critical must be our watchword.

The time has come to lay aside the inner-strife in an honest, self-critical Communist fashion. The time has come to build our unity for the purpose of fulfilling the mass line and policies of the Party, to leave subjectivity and wounded feelings behind, to rise to the new opportunities of struggle, to the great task ahead, to take up the banner of forward advance to socialism in this greatest age mankind has yet known.

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## HOLMES EXHIBIT NO. 7

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' Information Memo '
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SOCIALIST GROUPINGS IN CHICAGO

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' Based on a Staff Discussion '
' Communist Party of Illinois '
' April, 1960 '
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1. Factual Information:

Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyites): Together with a functioning youth group, a combined membership of about 40. Mayhew, its leader, no longer on full-time.

Proletarian Party: National headquarters in Chicago. Chicago local has about 35-40 members. Exclusively educational; no mass line or activities.

Socialist Party: Now has about 100 members in Chicago, organized in two branches, South Side and North Side. A YPCU branch is recruiting some young people.

"American Socialist" group-"Debs Forum": originally a Trotskyite offshoot, had a few sessions attracting from 40 to 50 people, and went out of existence, its remnants going into -

American Forum: the leadership of which is some unionists and liberal socialists. This group sponsored the Harry Bridges peace meeting. It attracts from 100 to 200 at its bigger meetings; smaller meetings have had from 12 to 50 in attendance.

2. Commentary:

The combined numbers of all these groups is far less than the membership of the Communist Party. However, this alone is not sufficient to determine an estimate, attitude or approach.

With the great changes taking place internationally and nationally; with the continuing course of the economic cycle and its social consequences; with the rise in struggles for civil rights, peace and economic well-being, leftward trends will increasingly develop among the people. One result will be a growing power of attraction of all groups calling themselves socialist. Another will be increased efforts of these various groups, to one extent or another, to link themselves with and to influence the course of mass movements and struggles. This is already developing, especially in relation to forces who are either members of, or associated with, the Socialist Party.

A differentiated approach to these various groupings is required.

Actually, they represent various trends and currents within socialist and socialist-inclined circles.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 7—Continued

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One trend, represented by the SWP, and the Debs Forum- American Socialist group (Cochran, national leader), confidently expected the death of the CPUSA and trimmed all their policies for the day when they would officiate at its funeral and take over. This "shrewd" analysis proved, of course, to be fraudulent, a self-deluding calculation and wish. Consequently, when it didn't happen, the results were fatal for some, near-fatal for others. Cochran's "American Socialist" magazine, and the Debs Forum locally, went out of existence, unmixed and unmourned. The SWP is back to its former small and impotent position.

The most important of these groupings is the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, which has grown to some 100 members over the last 5 years.

The group is far from being a homogenous whole. In fact, it is torn by tremendous conflicts and political differences. There are, roughly, three trends and groupings in and around the Socialist Party in Chicago today:

- a. The Schachtman group (Trotskyite offshoot), which went into the S.P. in order to get respectability and become a 'mass influence', even if we have to crawl to do it". This group, composed of old, hard-bitten political wheelhorses, is viciously anti-Communist Party and anti-socialist countries. It attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish a Labor Forum modelled after Schachtman's N.Y. Labor Forum. However, some of its members remain in a different-type Labor Forum, which while including left and socialist unionists, is a non-socialist, more limited and progressive arena of discussion. The Schachtmanites are a minority in the S.P.
- b. The old Forward group, -the majority in the S.P. This grouping is composed to a large degree of the "old-timers" and also has a major influence in some unions, such as the ILGWU. It is the dominant force behind the Jewish Labor Committee, which is officially supported by the AFL-CIO, nationally and locally; and it dominates the Workmen's Circle. From all appearances, it is the most important source of funds for the S.P. The leadership of this group considers the Schachtmanites to be "hidden Leninists".
- c. The third and most healthy trend in and around the S.P. is a group of union leaders, intellectuals, professionals and youth, including some Negro, who, while not pro-socialist countries, are neither anti-Soviet or anti-Communist Party. These include a number of pacifists and many with a non-class concept of socialism. They are, for the most part, active in the peace movements, in the civil rights fight, in support of the Southern sit-in movement, etc.

A characteristic of this trend is that it has a number of prominent individuals active in the labor, peace and civil rights movements. By and large, they will work with any and all forces on the basis of the given issues at the given time. This trend includes a number who are not members of the Socialist Party, but are closer to it than to any other Party at this time.

Of all the trends in and around the socialist groups, this is the most important; the one with which it is possible to work with the least difficulty.

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 7—Continued

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3. Some Questions of United Front Activity in relation to Socialist groups:

Relations with socialist groupings, and especially with the healthy trends among them, should be promoted on the basis of developing the movements of labor and the people on the vital issues of the day: disarmament, ban on nuclear tests and warfare, civil rights, etc.

The objective of such activity is not the formation of a so-called new, united mass party of socialism. This in no way is a practical question of the day; is, in fact, only diversionary from the real tasks. There is no basis at this time for the ideological unity which would be a requisite for the realization of such a concept.

For this reason, united activity with socialists today is not an end in itself. If it were, it would only result in a slightly enlarged sectarianism. Rather, such united action must be viewed within the larger frame of giving impulse, stimulus and direction to the various anti-monopoly currents developing, looking toward the grand aim of a democratic, anti-monopoly coalition.

In considering participation with one or another socialist group or trend, it is necessary to make determinations on the basis of a) the issues involved; b) the aim and direction toward which these movements and activities lend themselves or can be impelled.

In working with socialists, it is necessary to understand the practical consequences of the theoretical concepts of Social Democracy in general and of its various trends in particular. Toward achieving clarity on this question, it will be necessary to prepare special articles and discussion materials.

HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 8

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE

36 W. Randolph Street,

Room 806

Chicago, 1, Illinois.

May 10, 1960

TO ALL PRESS DIRECTORS AND PRESS BUILDERS:

The first copy of the new MIDWEST EDITION of The Worker is tacked up on the office bulletin board, with bold red letters across it, "We Finally Made it!" And that's something for all of us to be proud of. Along with a new edition we sent in \$1,000 for The Worker Fund Drive and sold and distributed most of one thousand copies of the May Day issue.

But that's only the first half of the story. Now comes the most important job of all, how to use the news and stories now appearing on the front and outside pages of The Worker, as well as the material in all the pages, to best advantage. So, that means getting to all our old readers and then finding more and more new readers.

To meet this new responsibility, we are holding an enlarged press directors and press builders meeting, on

WEDNESDAY, May 18th

at 8 p.m. at Room 803,

36 W. Randolph Street.

We are calling upon readers of The Worker, as well as members of the Freedom of the Press Committee to come to hear plans and ideas presented by the press committee. Also, a very important part of the business will be the hearing of suggestions from you and others at the meeting.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK, general manager of The Worker, will be with us as an additional treat for the evening. We are sure that he will have new suggestions and experiences from the other areas that he is visiting.

We hope that you will attend and invite others from your section, neighborhood and shop to come with you. Please bring all subscriptions and money which you may have, as well as your ideas for better circulation of our very fine new Midwest Edition.

Fraternally,

Flo Hall

## HOLMES EXHIBIT No. 9

WOMEN'S PEACE & UNITY CLUB

Report for year 1961-62

Dear Sisters and Friends:

Another year has elapsed, and we feel that "PEACE" should be the first item on our agenda for the following year.

The first week in November, W.P.U.C. started its first activities with a leaflet protesting against bomb shelters. The leaflets were received quite well and other women working for peace reproduced them (with our permission) and distributed several hundred more copies.

On March 10, W.P.U.C. celebrated International Women's Day. The theme for the occasion was PEACE - CIVIL RIGHTS. We chose that theme--the two are so closely related. There can be only a negative peace without civil rights. Our guest speaker was Miss Lola Belle Holmes, National Vice-President and District Director of the Negro American Labor Council (A. Phillip Randolph, President). She closed her remarks: "There'll be blue birds over the white cliffs of Dover tomorrow. Just you wait and see. There'll be love and laughter and peace ever after tomorrow when the world is free."

Mr. Stocker of Hammond, Ind., made a very inspiring impromptu collection appeal. He said, "I'm not a betting man, but when I do bet I bet on the winner. I am betting on the women to win the peace, and I know that they are going to win." Attendance and finance turned out very well; and the foods from many lands were delicious, and enjoyed by all.

March 18, the Women's Auxiliary of the N.A.A.C.P. had its Annual fund-raising Tea. We supported the affair, donating \$25.00, and also placed an ad in their souvenir book: "Let us work to make possible a turn towards peace in 1962."

On April 3, the Chairman of Chicago Committee for Equal Education met with us. She gave a talk on the problems of Chicago schools. W.P.U.C. donated \$25.00 to the committee.

April 15 through 21, the American Friends Service Committee (Chicago office) and other participating organizations sponsored Week for World Peace. Our Club members gave out literature in their own neighborhoods during the week, and climaxed the activity by joining in the large peace walk at Michigan and Randolph Streets, walking to Orchestra Hall for the rally.

W.P.U.C. gave two fund-raising affairs (May 25 and June 29) to help send delegates to the Eighth Youth Festival held in Helsinki, Finland. Both affairs were successful.

On July 27, our club had a fund-raising project. We were fortunate to have the American Friends Service Committee show the film, "Which Way the Wind?" This affair was well attended, enjoyed by all, and financial results very good.

August 26, W.P.U.C. had another fund-raising project--this time a Garden Party on Lula Saffold's lawn. We were very fortunate to have our own member, Mrs. Christine C. Johnson, just back from the Peace Assembly, held in Accra, Ghana. She spoke on "A World Without the Bomb." Although the weather was not in our favor, quite a number attended. The talk was inspiring.

The Chairman's report of 1960-61 was mailed to our readers of C.A.P. (Chicago Acts for Peace), but we didn't print any bulletins this year. However, at each regular meeting we always had interesting educational discussions.

W.P.U.C. sent two delegates to Montreal, Canada, to the Conference for International Cooperation Year, sponsored by V.O.W. (Voice of Women), Canada, and V.O.W., USA, Sept. 14 and 15. Our delegates were Mrs. Grace Clark and myself. We both returned much inspired and with double determination to work even harder for peace.

On Oct. 2, our annual meeting re-elected all officers--plus one new addition. Mr. Albert Holland was elected as "Club Sweetheart", so now we have one man in W.P.U.C. At this same meeting, Mrs. Grace Clark made an interesting report about the Conference. The agenda was quite crowded, so I saved my report for our next meeting in Nov.; but I did play the recorded keynote speech by Dr. Margaret Mead. All listened with great interest.

It is my expectation that much goodwill and understanding will materialize from the Conference. Many women met, had direct contact with each other, and exchanged ideas. It is my, our, hope that we women will be able to create an atmosphere to make possible International Cooperation Year in 1963. THANK YOU.

Oct. 1962  
P.O. Box 1433  
Chicago 90, Ill.

Lula A. Saffold, Chairman

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1

May 27, 1965

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS  
EASTERN DIVISION

JEREMIAH STAMLER, M.D. and	)	
YOLANDA F. HALL,	)	
	)	
Plaintiffs,	)	
vs.	)	No.
	)	
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS, HON. JOHN	)	
M. ASHBROOK, HON. DEL CLAWSON,	)	
HON. JOE R. POOL, HON. CHARLES L.	)	
WELTNER, HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK,	)	
HON. RICHARD H. ICHARD, HON.	)	
GEORGE F. SENNER, JR., and HON.	)	
JOHN H. BUCHANAN, JR., individually	)	
and as Chairman and Members of the	)	
Committee on Un-American Activities	)	
of the United States House of	)	
Representatives,	)	
	)	
Defendants.	)	

COMPLAINT

Plaintiffs Jeremiah Stamler, M.D. and Yolanda F. Hall submit the following complaint against defendants Hon. Edwin E. Willis, Chairman, and Hon. John M. Ashbrook, Hon. Del Clawson, Hon. Joe R. Pool, Hon. Charles L. Weltner, Hon. William M. Tuck, Hon. Richard H. Ichard, Hon. George F. Senner, Jr., and Hon. John H. Buchanan, Jr., Members, of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

## House of Representatives:

1. Plaintiff Jeremiah Stamler, M.D. is a citizen of the State of Illinois and of the United States. He has been licensed to practice medicine since 1948. He is and has been for some years the Executive Director of the Chicago Health Research Foundation and the Western Hemisphere Editor of the "Journal of Atherosclerosis Research." He is a member and past and present officer of many professional and scientific societies. He is the author of several scientific books and numerous scientific articles on the subject of diseases of the heart and blood vessels. He is and has been the recipient of many long-term research grants for local and national scientific studies, from the National Institutes of Health of the United States Public Health Service, the American Heart Association, the Chicago Heart Association, and other granting agencies. On May 21, 1965 he received the Albert Lasker Award in Medical Journalism from the Albert and Mary Lasker Medical Foundation, for his co-authorship of a series of articles dealing with the prevention of heart attacks. He is and has been for some years the Director of the Division of Adult Health and Aging, and the Director of the Heart Disease Control Program, both of the Chicago Board of Health, Chicago, Illinois. He sues

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

individually and on behalf of all other citizens similarly situated.

2. Plaintiff Yolanda F. Hall is a citizen of the State of Illinois and of the United States. She holds a Master of Science degree awarded by the Department of Home Economics of the Illinois Institute of Technology. She is and has been for some years a Research Nutritionist for the Heart Disease Control Program of the Chicago Board of Health and for the Chicago Health Research Foundation. She sues individually and on behalf of all other citizens similarly situated.

3. Defendant Hon. Edwin E. Willis is a citizen of the State of Louisiana. He is made a party individually and as Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives of the United States House of Representatives (hereafter "House Un-American Activities Committee"). Defendants Hon. Joe R. Pool, a citizen of the State of Texas, Hon. Charles L. Weltner, a citizen of the State of Georgia, Hon. John M. Ashbrook, a citizen of the State of Ohio, Hon. Del Clawson, a citizen of the State of California, Hon. William M. Tuck, a citizen of the State of Virginia, Hon. Richard H. Ichard, a citizen of the State of

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

Missouri, Hon. George F. Senner, Jr., a citizen of the State of Arizona, and Hon. John H. Buchanan, Jr., a citizen of the State of Alabama, are made parties individually and as members of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

4. The jurisdiction of the Court arises under 28 U.S.C. §§ 1331, 1332, 1343 (3) and (4), 2201, 2202, 2282, 2284; 42 U.S.C. § 1983; and under the Constitution of the United States and in particular under Article I, Section 9, Clause 3, Article III, and the First, Fifth, Ninth, Tenth, and Fourteenth Amendments thereto.

5. The amount in controversy, exclusive of interest and costs, exceeds \$10,000.

6. Defendants and each of them, acting in concert and under the color of an unconstitutional Act of Congress and Resolution of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, set forth below, together with other persons acting under the color of laws, whose identities are presently unknown to plaintiffs, have undertaken and endeavored to subject plaintiffs and others similarly situated to the deprivation of rights, privileges and immunities secured to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

7. Pursuant to the aforesaid undertaking and endeavor, defendants have caused to be issued and served upon plaintiffs certain subpoenas, copies of which are attached hereto as Exhibits 1 and 2, which direct plaintiffs, and each of them, to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee, or a duly appointed subcommittee thereof, to be convened in Chicago, Illinois, on May 25, 1965, at 10:30 A.M.

8. Defendants have taken the aforesaid action under and pursuant to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 812, 828 (U.S. Code Congressional Service, 1946, p. 793), which embodies Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States establishing the charter of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Rule XI of said Act provides in pertinent part:

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

9. Rule XI of said Act is illegal and void as applied to plaintiffs, and as utilized by defendants and their predecessors in the past, in that it violates the Constitution of the United States and in particular the First, Fifth, Ninth and Tenth Amendments thereto, for the following reasons, among others:

(a) Rule XI violates the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States because it is unduly vague, uncertain and broad. Its overbroad sweep inhibits and deters the exercise by citizens of the United States of the rights of freedom of speech, press, assembly, privacy, to remain silent, and of association, in violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The dragnet sweep of the provisions of Rule XI of said Act violates the command of the First Amendment that

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

(b) It appears from both the origin of Rule XI, and the setting within which the Committee has in the past operated pursuant to its charter, that Rule XI purports to establish a general authority in the House Un-American Activities Committee publicly to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the legitimate investigative functions of the Congress, all in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and beyond and in excess of any powers granted to the Congress by the Constitution of the United States.

(c) Rule XI has authorized the creation of a governmental mechanism with the sole purpose and objective of forcing public disclosure of beliefs, opinions, expressions and associations of private citizens which may be unorthodox or unpopular, resulting in public stigma, scorn and obloquy, all beyond any powers granted to the Congress by the Constitution of the United States.

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

(d) Rule XI purports to authorize such a sweeping, unlimited and all-inclusive compulsory examination of witnesses in the constitutionally protected areas of speech, press, petition and assembly, that it violates the procedural requirements of the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

(e) The delegation of authority by Congress to the House Un-American Activities Committee contained in Rule XI is so vague, ambiguous and uncertain that it cannot support or authorize investigations by the House Un-American Activities Committee which affect or deter the citizens of the United States in the exercise of their rights of freedom of speech, press, petition and assembly, as guaranteed by the First Amendment to the federal Constitution.

(f) Rule XI purports to sanction a usurpation of the functions of the executive and judicial branches of the national government, in violation of the principle of separation of powers which underlies the Constitution of the United States.

(g) Rule XI of said Act violates the prohibition against Bills of Attainder set forth in Article I,

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

Section 9, Clause 1 of the Constitution in that it authorizes and provides for legislative punishment.

(h) Rule XI violates Article III of the Constitution in that it sanctions and authorizes the imposition of punishment for the exercise of rights otherwise guaranteed by the First Amendment.

10. (a) Under color of said Act and Rule, defendants have caused said subpoenas to be issued to plaintiffs (Exhibits 1 and 2) commanding them to appear before the said Committee at a public hearing on May 25, 1965, for the purpose of embarrassing, harassing and intimidating plaintiffs and to deter plaintiffs from the exercise of their rights, privileges and immunities as citizens of the United States, and in particular their rights to freedom of belief, speech, press, assembly and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

(b) For several years, plaintiff Yolanda Hall has been active in Chicago, Illinois, and especially in the area known as Austin, both privately and in conjunction with various civic organizations, in efforts to secure for Negro citizens the rights guaranteed to them by the federal Constitution. Plaintiffs allege upon information and belief

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

that certain persons, some of whom are named in the exhibits attached hereto, and some of whose names and identities are unknown to plaintiffs, have induced defendants to issue subpoenas to plaintiffs, not for any authorized or legitimate legislative purpose or investigation, but solely in order to punish, embarrass and harass her for said activities, and in order to punish, embarrass and harass plaintiff Stamler, who hired plaintiff Hall and who is her immediate superior, and to intimidate and deter plaintiff Hall and others who have carried on such activities, both in Chicago and elsewhere in the United States, from carrying on those activities in the future.

11. There has been no specification or information given to plaintiffs, and none is contained in the subpoenas attached as Exhibits 1 and 2, as to the purposes or scope of the hearings to be held before defendants on May 25, 1965, or as to the matters which defendants intend or desire to investigate. Therefore, if and when plaintiffs are interrogated by defendants, plaintiffs will be unable to determine (i) whether the investigation is relevant or germane to any authorized or legitimate legislative function, or (ii) issues

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

of relevancy and materiality, or (iii) whether there is so compelling a need for plaintiffs to reply to defendants' questions that infringement of plaintiffs' constitutional rights is justified. Plaintiffs will therefore be unable to exercise intelligently and effectively the rights guaranteed to plaintiffs by the Constitution of the United States.

12. (a) The purported subpoenas issued to the plaintiffs, and the hearings to be convened by the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 25, 1965 at Chicago, Illinois, are illegal and void in that defendants have violated the Rules of Procedure of the Committee, and in particular Rule 26(m) and Rule XVI thereof, which provide as follows:

"(m) If the committee determines that evidence or testimony at an investigative hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall—

(1) receive such evidence or testimony  
in executive session;"

"XVI. No Member of the Committee or staff shall make public the name of any witness subpoenaed before the Committee or Subcommittee prior to the date of his appearance."

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

(b) In violation of Rule 26(m), said subpoenas are returnable at a place which is open to the general public.

(c) In violation of Rule XVI, the names of plaintiffs and other persons subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 25, 1965, have been released by defendants, their agents, employees or attorneys, or persons acting in concert with them, to certain public news media, including newspapers in and around Chicago, Illinois, resulting in the publication of plaintiffs' names, and photographs of plaintiff Stamler, in newspapers in and around Cook County, Illinois, representative samples of which are attached hereto as Exhibits 3 et seq. This publicity has resulted in great harm to plaintiffs and their families in their professional and private lives, and to their professional and private reputations.

13. The extensive publicity which has been given to the activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and especially the adverse publicity and public scorn which has been visited upon those who have resisted, opposed, failed to cooperate with, or questioned the motives or

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

procedures of the House Un-American Activities Committee, have caused many citizens of the United States, including plaintiffs, to fear being subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee, and in order to avoid the risk of being subpoenaed, to forego the exercise of their right of freedom of speech, press, assembly, petition, and other rights and privileges guaranteed to all citizens by the First Amendment to the federal Constitution. Unless this Court restrains defendants as requested herein, (i) defendants, their successors and agents will continue to harass, intimidate and defame citizens, including plaintiffs, and (ii) citizens, including plaintiffs, will become more and more fearful of risking the displeasure of or being subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee, and (iii) with the resulting chilling and deterrent effect upon the valuable constitutional rights of all citizens, and the loss to society of the benefits of fearless and unfettered expression of ideas and beliefs.

14. The hearings to be held at Chicago, Illinois beginning on May 25, 1965 are not intended to and in fact will not advance any legitimate legislative purpose or investigation. The purpose, intention and effect of the efforts

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

of defendants to enforce this Act and Rule is to deter, intimidate, hinder and prevent plaintiffs and persons similarly situated in Illinois and throughout the nation from exercising the constitutional rights to freedom of belief, speech, press, privacy and association guaranteed to them by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to hold up to public obloquy and scorn all those who resist or refuse to cooperate with defendants or who question defendants' motives or the propriety of defendants' procedures, and to embarrass, punish and deter persons whose political, economic, philosophical and other views, ideas and beliefs do not coincide with defendants, and to embarrass, punish and deter persons who have actively attempted to secure equal rights for Negro citizens and other minority groups in the United States. Unless this Court restrains the operation and enforcement of said Rule, plaintiffs and all persons similarly situated will risk and suffer irreparable and immediate loss or substantial impairment of fundamental rights as a result of the chilling effect of the enforcement and operation of this Act and Rule upon the exercise of First Amendment rights.

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

15. Defendants have in the past caused and they threaten to continue in the future to cause the utilization of federal criminal statutes, in particular 2 U.S.C. § 192, to compel citizens to disclose publicly their beliefs, opinions, expressions and associations, and to bring adverse publicity and public derision to those who fail or refuse to cooperate with defendants, all in violation of the Constitution of the United States and in particular the First and Fifth Amendments thereto.

16. (a) Plaintiffs fear that if they appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee pursuant to said subpoenas, and decline to respond to defendants' questions for the reasons stated herein, they will be subjected to prosecution for criminal contempt with resulting adverse publicity, public obloquy, and injury to plaintiffs and their families in their professional and private lives.

(b) Plaintiffs fear that if they appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee pursuant to said subpoenas, they will be unable to intelligently and effectively protect their constitutional rights, because they will be unable to determine whether defendants' inquiries

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

are germane and material to the legitimate legislative purposes, if any, of the House Un-American Activities Committee, or impinge upon plaintiffs' constitutional rights, and plaintiffs will therefore subject themselves to multiple, lengthy and costly criminal contempt proceedings, all of which will result in irreparable harm to plaintiffs and their families, both financially and in their professional and private reputations.

17. Furthermore, unless the enforcement and operation of said Act and Rule is restrained by this Court, immediate and irreparable injury and harm may be done to plaintiffs and to the entire nation in that the effect of the enforcement of the aforesaid subpoenas against plaintiffs will be to interfere with, injure, undermine and destroy invaluable medical research programs in the area of the prevention of heart disease presently under the control and direction of plaintiff Stamlar, who is assisted by plaintiff Hall.

18. No previous application for this relief has been made.

WHEREFORE, plaintiffs pray:

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

1. That pursuant to 26 U.S.C. §§ 2282 and 2284, a three-judge court be immediately convened to hear and determine this proceeding.

2. That a permanent injunction issue:

(a) Restraining defendants and each of them, their agents, employees and attorneys, and all others acting in concert with them, and their successors, from the enforcement, operation or execution in any way whatever of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 817, 828, insofar as that Act incorporates Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives establishing the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives.

(b) Restraining defendants and each of them, their agents, employees and attorneys, and all others acting in concert with them, and their successors, from impeding, intimidating, hindering and preventing plaintiffs from exercising the rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

(c) Restraining defendants and each of them, their agents, employees, and attorneys, and all others

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

acting in concert with them, and their successors, from attempting to issue subpoenas, hold hearings or take any action whatsoever under the purported authority of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 817, 828, or House Rule XI of the Rules of the United States House of Representatives.

3. That this Court enter a judgment declaring that the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 817, 828, insofar as it incorporates Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives establishing the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, violates the Constitution of the United States and is therefore void and of no effect.

4. That this Court declare the hearings to be convened by defendants on May 25, 1965 at Chicago, Illinois are illegal and void.

5. That this Court enter a judgment declaring that the subpoenas served on plaintiffs (Exhibits 1 and 2) are void, and that plaintiffs need not comply with those subpoenas.

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

6. Pending the hearing and determination of this action, this Court enter an interlocutory injunction restraining defendants and each of them, their agents, employees and attorneys, and all others acting in concert with them, and their successors, from (i) convening or proceeding with the hearings scheduled to begin on May 25, 1965 at Chicago, Illinois, (ii) from proceeding upon or enforcing in any way the subpoenas issued to and served upon plaintiffs (Exhibits 1 and 2), including any proceeding to enforce those subpoenas pursuant to the criminal provisions of Title 2 U.S.C. Section 192, and (iii) from seeking or receiving in any hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, wherever held, any evidence or testimony concerning plaintiffs or their immediate families; and

7. They be given all other relief as the Court may deem appropriate.

---

Albert E. Jenner, Jr.

Of Counsel:

Raymond, Mayer, Jenner &  
Block

135 S. LaSalle  
Chicago, Illinois

Arthur Kinoy  
William M. Kunstler  
Kunstler, Kunstler & Kinoy  
511 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

---

Thomas P. Sullivan

---

Lael F. Johnson

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

STATE OF ILLINOIS    )  
                          )   SS.  
COUNTY OF COOK     )

AFFIDAVIT

Jeremiah Stamler on oath states that the matters stated in this Complaint are true, except those matters alleged therein to be made upon information and belief, which matters he is informed and believes are true.

Jeremiah Stamler, I.D.  
Jeremiah Stamler

Signed and sworn to before  
me May 22, 1965.

James C. Costello  
Notary Public

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 1

742

Original  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
Congress of the United States

To Jeremiah Stamler

, GREETING:

PURSUANT to lawful authority, YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED to be and appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives of the United States, or a duly appointed subcommittee thereof, on Tuesday, May 25, 1965, at 10:30 o'clock, a.m., at their Committee Room, U.S. Court House & Federal Office Bldg., Ceremonial Court Room, 25th Floor, 219 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill., then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee, and not to depart without leave of said committee.

YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED to bring with you and produce before said committee, or a duly authorized subcommittee thereof, the following:

HEREOF FAIL NOT, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To WILL E. WETTERMAN, to serve and return.

GIVEN under my hand this 6th day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1965.



Chairman—Chairman of Subcommittee—Member Designate  
of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House  
of Representatives.

16-71627-1

If you desire a conference with a representative of the Committee prior to the date of the hearing, please call or write to: Staff Director, Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington 25, D.C., Telephone: Capitol 4-3121—Ext. 3051.

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 2

Original  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
Congress of the United States

737

To ..... Yolanda Hall .....

....., GREETING:

PURSUANT to lawful authority, YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED to be and appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives of the United States, or a duly appointed subcommittee thereof, on ..... Tuesday, May 25, ....., 1965..., at 10:30 o'clock, a.m., ~~at this Committee Room~~ U.S. Court House & Federal Office Bldg., Ceremonial Court Room, 25th Floor, 219 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee, and not to depart without leave of said committee.

YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED to bring with you and produce before said committee, or a duly authorized subcommittee thereof, the following:

.....

.....

.....

HEREOF FAIL NOT, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To ..... DONALD I. SWEENEY, JR., ..... to serve and return.

GIVEN under my hand this ..... 6th ..... day of ..... May ....., in the year of our Lord, 1965....



Chairman—Chairman of Subcommittee—Member Designate  
of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House  
of Representatives.

16-71627-1

If you desire a conference with a representative of the Committee prior to the date of the hearing, please call or write to: Staff Director, Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington 25, D.C., Telephone: Capitol 4-3121—Ext. 3051.

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 3

[Chicago American, May 12, 1965]

# House Unit Sets Red Probe Here

The House un-American activities committee has scheduled public hearings here for May 25, 26, and 27 to investigate reports of a slight resurgence in Communist activities here.

It was learned that 11 persons, including several city employees, have been subpoenaed to testify in the hearings, to be held in chambers on the 25th floor of the federal courts and office building.

It was also learned that closed hearings into the Ku Klux Klan may begin in Washington in two weeks to set the stage for a formal probe of the Klan by HUAC. The investigative hearings are separate from the formal probe.

While four of the committee's nine members are from the south, HUAC hopes its hearings will not be construed as a drive against the civil rights movement, a source close to the committee said.

## Quiz on Infiltration

Rather, the members wish to learn to what extent Communists, whether Moscow or Peking oriented, might be infiltrating the rights movement for their own purposes.

It is hoped that "friendly witnessess" rounded up by HUAC staff members earlier this year will shed light on what effects the ideological split between Russia and China has had on

the Communist movement in the United States.

Washington sources said these witnesses have broken both from the regular, Russian-oriented Communist party of the United States and the newer Progressive Labor Movement, a faction favoring Chinese interpretations of Marxism.

## Continuation of Hearings

They described the hearings here as a continuation of hearings last year in Minneapolis and in Buffalo, in which activities of the P. L. M. were detailed before the committee for the first time.

The P. L. M., the committee was told, apparently broke from the Communist party of the United States after the United States Supreme court ruled in 1961 that the regular party would have to register its leaders under the internal security act.

The regular party followed its plan of reducing national leadership to but three persons and ignoring the order to register.

The dissident faction wanted to dissolve the party and reform it under a new name, thus avoiding the need to register.

Since then, the P. L. M. has become an aggressive band. While the more orthodox Communists have parroted the Moscow line of peaceful co-existence, P. L. M. members have taken sides with Peking's belief that war is inevitable in the struggle for power.

[Chicago Daily News, May 12, 1965]

# Un-American Activities Unit Subpoenas 11 in Chicago Area

BY JAMES S. LEWIS

Eleven Chicago area persons have been subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee here May 25th. They will meet Thursday night to decide whether they will disclose their names ahead of time.

The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 431 S. Dearborn, has sent telegrams to 11 Illinois congressmen asking them to work toward canceling the HUAC hearings here.

None of the persons subpoenaed are members of the Chicago Committee, in which membership is limited to a

board of directors of 40, according to Richard Criley, secretary.

THE SUBPOENAS were served on persons active in racial integration and peace activities, Criley said. The group reportedly includes several suburbanites, three Negroes and the manager of a congressmen were sent over The telegrams to the Illinois Loop bookstore.

The signature of the Rev. William T. Baird, executive director of the Chicago Committee, pastor of the Essex Community Church, 7400 S. Blackstone, and a member of The Woodlawn Organization.

The telegram read:

"We urge you to act to cancel the projected May 25 hearings in our community of the segregationist-dominated House Un-American Activities Committee.

"If held, these hearings will result in a guilt-by-association witch hunt against persons working for integration and peace."

UNIVERSITY of Chicago Prof. Robert J. Havighurst is chairman of the Chicago Committee.

The vice chairmen are Northwestern University Prof. Curtis Mac Dougall, Rabbi

Arnold Jacob Wolf of Highland Park and the Rev. Dr. Victor Obenhaus of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

The meeting of those subpoenaed will not be open to the public. The House committee, which has a 5-4 majority of Southerners, was voted \$50,000 last month to investigate the Ku Klux Klan. Its chairman is U.S. Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.)

Criley said that should efforts to cancel the May 25 hearings here fail, "we will prepare a warm welcome for them." He said that he understands that students will picket any HUAC hearings held here.

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

EXHIBIT 5

[Chicago Sun Times, May 13, 1965]

## House Unit To Probe Red Activity In Illinois

The House Committee on Un-American Activities announced Wednesday it will begin hearings May 25 in Chicago on Illinois Communist activity.

Chairman Edwin E. Willis (D-La.) said the hearings in the Federal Building will probe organization, tactics, strategy and objectives of the Communist Party in its Illinois district.

The hearings will be part of a series to appraise the 1950 Subversive Activities Control Act.

The Rev. William T. Baird, executive director of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, immediately protested the hearings. He sent telegrams to the Illinois Congressional delegation, asking that the HUAC hearings be canceled.

"If held, these hearings will result in a guilt by association witch-hunt against persons in the Chicago area working for integration and peace," the Rev. Mr. Baird wired.

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 6

[Chicago Tribune, May 13, 1965]

# Probe of Reds in Chicago City Hall Set for May 25

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, May 12 — Communist infiltration of a city hall department in Chicago will be explored at forthcoming hearings of the House committee on un-American activities, investigators said today.



Willis

Chairman Edwin E. Willis [D., La.] announced that he and four committee members will hold public hearings beginning May 25 in the United States courthouse and federal office building in Chicago.

## Expect Reluctant Witnesses

The nature of the evidence to be presented by both friendly and adverse witnesses was not disclosed but it was said to concern a stepping up of Communist party activities in the Chicago area which is a part of the national picture.

Some of the witnesses to be called are expected to refuse to testify on the ground of possible self-incrimination, while others will relate communist penetration in several fields, including local government.

The hearings, Willis said,

would concern "the structure and organization, major areas of concentration, strategy and tactics, and the general extent, character, and objectives of the United States Communist party in relation to the Chicago and Illinois district of the party."

The other committee members are Representatives Joe R. Pool [D., Tex.], Charles L. Weltner [D., Ga.], John M. Ashbrook [R., O.], and Del Clawson [R., Cal.].

Hearings will be held later in other states.

## 12 WITNESSES CALLED

Richard Crowley, secretary of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 431 S. Dearborn st., said that the committee, a branch of the national committee to abolish the House un-American activities committee, has learned that 12 Chicagoans were subpoenaed Tuesday to testify. Crowley said he has talked to most of those, receiving subpoenas and intends to make their names public Friday.

The Rev. William T. Baird, committee executive director, wired congressmen denouncing the hearings as "a guilt by association witchhunt against persons working for integration and peace."

EXHIBIT 7

[Chicago American, May 13, 1965]

**EXCLUSIVE: Name Chicagoans Called in Red Quiz**

**Chicago's AMERICAN**  
Always On Top Of The News

FINAL MARKETS  
**GREEN  
STREAK**  
COMPLETE

7¢

Three Sections, Section 1 THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1965

7 CENTS

6

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

EXHIBIT 8

[Chicago American, May 13, 1965]

EXCLUSIVE

# List Chicagoans to Face Red Quiz

## Report Dr. Stamler,

## 11 Others Subpenaed

Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, 45, internationally renowned heart research specialist with the Chicago Board of Health, has been subpenaed to testify before the House Committee on Un-American activities.

The subpena was issued to Dr. Stamler and 11 other Chicago figures this week.

CHICAGO'S AMERICAN reported exclusively Tuesday that the congressional committee would open three days of public hearings on communist activities here May 25. The hearings are to be held on the 25th floor of the United States courthouse and federal office building, 219 S. Dearborn st.

This committee traditionally subpoenas persons both pro- and anti-Communist to obtain information.

A health department assistant to Stamler, Mrs. Yolanda Hall, 43, also has been subpenaed. Stamler's wife, Rose, works with him at the board of health on a part-time basis.

News to Mayor Daley

Mayor Daley said of the looming investigation:

"This is news to me. The city has a policy of getting as much information as it can about top



**DR. JEREMIAH STAMLER**  
Heart researcher.

city employees. We screen our top people.

"I am going to check with Thomas S. McInerney, head of the department of investigation, and with the Chicago delegation in Congress.

"If there is anyone in the

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 8—Continued

[Chicago American, May 13, 1965]

city government carrying on activities which are contrary to our government, he will be removed immediately."

Just why Stamler was subpoenaed is unclear. Contacted by CHICAGO AMERICAN in Washington, where he is attending a convention on heart ailments, Dr. Stamler said:

"I've no public information to divulge at this time. Until I have an opportunity to get home and catch my breath, I'm not going to say anything about this.

"I am a responsible person and a responsible American."

"Technically, I do the hiring, but I generally go along with the recommendations of my subordinates with regard to hiring practices.

"Stamler and his staff do research work on cardio-vascular conditions, and in the fields of cancer and diabetes.

#### No Policy Connections

"Neither he nor any of his staff members is involved in planning, policy making, or civil defense planning for the board of health.

"Dr. Stamler was hired in April, 1958, by my predecessor, Dr. Herman Bundesen. I became health commissioner in March, 1960.

"I have not had cause to question Dr. Stamler's competence or his work. He is internationally renowned."

#### Earns \$20,000 Annually

Andelman said that Stamler earns \$20,322 a year; that Mrs. Hall is a research assistant and that Stamler's wife, Rose, also is a salaried health department worker. Both women earn \$9,300 a year, Andelman said.

News that Dr. Stamler had been subpoenaed comes with an announcement from New York City that he has been named co-winner with Alton Blakeslee of the Associated Press of the 16th annual Albert Lasker Medical Journalism award in the newspaper field, for their series entitled, "Your Heart Has Nine Lives."

#### Holds 2 Titles

The award includes a check for \$2,500, an engraved citation, and a gold statuette of the Winged Victory of Samothrace, symbolizing victory over death and disease.

Officially, Dr. Stamler holds two titles with the board of health—director of the heart disease control program, and of the division of adult health and aging.

A major part of this second division is a 10-year study, now 5 years old, called the coronary prevention evaluation program, in which Stamler and his staff are studying the relationship between diet and heart attacks.

One major feature of the study so far has been the indication that high protein diets where vegetable fats are substituted for animal fats seem to reduce body weight and the cholesterol rate in the blood.

#### New York Graduate

Stamler was born in 1919, and received his degree in medicine from the State University of New York College of Medicine at New York City, Brooklyn. He was licensed to practice medicine in Illinois in 1948 and certified by the National Board of Medical Examiners in 1947.

Stamler is a member of the

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 8—Continued

[Chicago American, May 13, 1965]

Central Society for Clinical Research, and of the American Society for Clinical Investigation.

He and his wife live at 1332 Madison avenue park.

The chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is Rep. Edwin E. Willis [D., La.]. He announced that he and four colleagues would hold the hearings in Chicago.

#### Others At Hearings

The others are Representatives Joe R. Pool [D., Tex.], Charles L. Weltner [D., Ga.],

John M. Ashbrook [R., O.], and Del Clawson [R., Cal.].

Previous hearings have been held in Minneapolis June 24-26, and in Buffalo, April 29-30, 1964. Other hearings will be held later.

Rep. Willis told reporters the Chicago hearings will concern "the structure and organization, major areas of concentration, strategy and tactics, and the general extent, character, and objectives of the United States Communist party in relation to the Chicago and Illinois district of the party."

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 9

[Chicago American, May 13, 1965]

# List Chicagoans Called in Red Inquiry Here

BY DON SULLIVAN

Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, 45, internationally renowned heart research specialist with the Chicago Board of Health, has been subpoenaed to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The subpoena was issued to Dr. Stamler and 11 other Chicago figures this week.

CHICAGO'S AMERICAN reported exclusively Tuesday that the congressional committee would open three days of public hearings on communist activities here May 25. The hearings are to be held on the 25th floor of the United States courthouse and federal office building, 219 S. Dearborn st.

This committee traditionally subpoenas persons both pro- and anti-Communist to obtain information.

A health department assistant to Stamler, Mrs. Yolanda Hall, 43, also has been subpoenaed. Stamler's wife, Rose, works with him at the board of health on a part-time basis.

## News to Mayor Daley

Mayor Daley said of the looming investigation:

"This is news to me. The city has a policy of getting as much information as it can about top city employees. We screen our top people.



**DR. JEREMIAH STAMLER**  
Heart researcher.

"I am going to check with Thomas S. McInerney, head of the department of investigation, and with the Chicago delegation in Congress.

"If there is anyone in the city government carrying on activities which are contrary to our government, he will be removed immediately."

Just why Stamler was subpoenaed is unclear. Contacted

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 9—Continued

[Chicago American, May 13, 1965]

by CHICAGO'S AMERICAN in Washington, where he is attending a convention on heart ailments, Dr. Stamler said:

"I've no public information to divulge at this time. Until I have an opportunity to get home and catch my breath, I'm not going to say anything about this.

"I am a responsible person and a responsible American."

**Aid Refused Position**

His aid, Mrs. Hall, in 1949 was refused a teaching position with the Chicago Board of Education on grounds of Communist connections.

Richard Crowley, secretary of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, announced that he intends to make public tomorrow the names of those subpoenaed. This announcement provoked the revelation by CHICAGO'S AMERICAN of the names.

The other subpoenaed are:

Milton M. Cohen, 50, of 5428 Kimbark av., an avowed Communist whom 1937 fought with the Abraham Lincoln brigade on the side of the Spanish Loyalists in 1937. In 1946, Cohen taught a course called "Fundamental Principles of Marxism" with Claude Lightfoot, executive secretary of the Communist party in Illinois, at the Abraham Lincoln school.

Dorothy M. Hayes, 56, of 5511 Everett av., a social worker. In Oct., 1960, she signed a petition to President Kennedy protesting the internal security act of 1950.

Wilberforce Jones, of 3827 Michigan av., a worker in the General Motors plant in La Grange, and a former steward in the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO.

Versta Miller, of 3851 Ellis av. Leon Joy Jennings, of 6444 Eberhart av., a member of AFL-CIO United Auto Workers Local 734.

David Englestein, 61, of 737 Belden av., employed at the Avalon Truck and Auto Parts company, 7370 South Chicago av., since 1948. He is a naturalized citizen, having come to the United States from Montreal in 1930.

Helen Fotine Queen, of 5017 Quincy st., is the wife of Danny Queen, Illinois youth director for the Communist party.

Louis Diskin, manager of the Modern Book store, 56 E. Chicago av., identified by the House Un-American Activities committee as "the party outlet for Communist party propaganda and literature in that area." Diskin is one-time New York chairman of the Labor Youth League, formerly known as the Young Communist League.

Benjamin Friedlander, 55, of 5345 Kimbark av., a chemist.

**Surprise to Andelman**

Dr. Samuel L. Andelman, Chicago health commissioner, said of Dr. Stamler's subpoena:

"This comes as a complete surprise to me. Dr. Stamler is a researcher for my department, and he has about 40 persons working for him.

**Aid Admitted Communist**

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## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

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[Chicago American, May 13, 1965]

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#### Surprise to Andelman

Dr. Samuel L. Andelman, Chicago health commissioner, said of Dr. Stamler's subpoena:

"This comes as a complete surprise to me. Dr. Stamler is a researcher for my department, and he has about 40 persons working for him.

"Technically, I do the hiring, but I generally go along with the recommendations of my subordinates with regard to hiring practices.

"Stamler and his staff do research work on cardio-vascular conditions, and in the fields of cancer and diabetes.

#### No Policy Connections

"Neither he nor any of his staff members is involved in planning, policy making, or civil defense planning for the board of health.

"Dr. Stamler was hired in April, 1958, by my predecessor, Dr. Herman Bundesen. I became health commissioner in March, 1960.

"I have not had cause to question Dr. Stamler's competence or his work. He is internationally renowned."

#### Earns \$21,000 Annually

Andelman said that Stamler earns about \$21,000 a year; that Mrs. Hall is a research assistant with a salary of about \$6,000 a year, and that Stamler's wife, Rose, also is a salaried health department worker in her husband's research department on a part-time basis.

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 9—Continued

[Chicago American, May 13, 1965]

Andelman said he does not know Mrs. Stamler's salary.

News that Dr. Stamler had been subpoenaed comes with an announcement from New York City that he has been named co-winner with Alton Blakeslee of the Associated Press of the 16th annual Albert Lasker Medical Journalism award in the newspaper field, for their series entitled, "Your Heart Has Nine Lives."

**Holds 2 Titles**

The award includes a check for \$2,500, an engraved citation, and a gold statuette of the Winged Victory of Samothrace, symbolizing victory over death.

Officially, Dr. Stamler holds two titles with the board of health—director of the heart disease control program, and of the division of adult health and aging.

A major part of this second division is a 10-year study, now 5 years old, called the coronary prevention evaluation program, in which Stamler and his staff are studying the relationship between diet and heart attacks.

One major feature of the study so far has been the indication that high protein diets where vegetable fats are substituted for animal fats seem to reduce body weight and the cholesterol rate in the blood.

**New York Graduate**

Stamler was born in 1919, and received his degree in

medicine from the State University of New York College of Medicine at New York City, Brooklyn. He was licensed to practice medicine in Illinois in 1948 and certified by the National Board of Medical Examiners in 1947.

Stamler is a member of the Central Society for Clinical Research, and of the American Society for Clinical Investigation.

He and his wife live at 1332 Madison avenue park.

The chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is Rep. Edwin E. Willis [D., La.]. He announced that he and four colleagues would hold the hearings in Chicago.

**Others At Hearings**

The others are Representatives Joe R. Pool [D., Tex.], Charles L. Weltner [D., Ga.], John M. Ashbrook [R., O.], and Del Clawson [R., Cal.].

Previous hearings have been held in Minneapolis June 24-26, and in Buffalo, April 29-30, 1964. Other hearings will be held later.

Rep. Willis told reporters the Chicago hearings will concern "the structure and organization, major areas of concentration, strategy and tactics, and the general extent, character, and objectives of the United States Communist party in relation to the Chicago and Illinois district of the party."

## EXHIBIT 10

[Chicago Daily News, May 13, 1965]

# House Unit Subpenas 11 Here

BY JAMES S. LEWIS

Eleven Chicago area persons have been subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee here May 25th. They will meet Thursday night to decide whether they will disclose their names ahead of time.

The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 431 S. Dearborn, has sent telegrams to 11 Illinois congressmen asking them to work toward canceling the HUAC hearings here.

None of the persons subpoenaed are members of the Chicago Committee, in which membership is limited to a

board of directors of 40, according to Richard Criley, secretary.

**THE SUBPENAS** were served on persons active in racial integration and peace activities, Criley said. The group reportedly includes several suburbanites, three Negroes and the manager of a Loop bookstore.

The telegrams to the Illinois congressmen were sent over the signature of the Rev. William T. Baird, executive director of the Chicago Committee, pastor of the Essex Community Church, 7400 S. Blackstone, and a member of The Woodlawn Organization.

The telegram read:

"We urge you to act to cancel the projected May 25 hearings in our community of the segregationist-dominated House Un-American Activities Committee."

"If held, these hearings will result in a guilt-by-association witch hunt against persons working for integration and peace."

**UNIVERSITY** of Chicago Prof. Robert J. Havighurst is chairman of the Chicago Committee.

The vice chairmen are Northwestern University Prof. Curtis MacDouglass, Rabbi Arnold Jacob Wolf of High-

land Park and the Rev. Dr. Victor Obenhaus of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

The meeting of those subpoenaed will not be open to the public. The House committee, which has a 5-4 majority of Southerners, was voted \$50,000 last month to investigate the Ku Klux Klan. Its chairman is U.S. Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.)

Criley said that should efforts to cancel the May 25 hearings here fail, "we will prepare a warm welcome for them." He said that he understands that students will picket any HUAC hearings held here.

## EXHIBIT 11

[Chicago Sun Times, May 14, 1965]

# House Unit Summons 11 Chicagoans

Eleven Chicagoans, including a research specialist with the Chicago Board of Health, have been subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee when it comes here May 25-27.

Public hearings will be held in the new Federal Building, 219 S. Dearborn.

Committee Chairman Edwin E. Willis (D-La.) has said the purpose of the hearings is to probe organization, tactics, strategy and objectives of the Communist Party in Illinois.

## Heart Expert

The Board of Health specialist is Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, 45, internationally known expert in the cardio-vascular field.

He heads a staff of about 40 persons doing research on

cardio-vascular conditions, cancer and diabetes. His \$21,000-a-year salary, however, comes from state and federal funds, not from the city.

Dr. Stamler is in Bethesda, Md., conferring on research projects with other specialists at the National Institutes of Health.

Also subpoenaed was on of his assistants at the Board of Health, Mrs. Yolanda Hall, 43.

Dr. Samuel L. Andelman, Chicago health commissioner, said of Dr. Stamler's subpoena: "Frankly, I don't know why

he is being called before the committee.

"Some time back, over a year ago, the Federal Bureau of Investigation contacted me to find out exactly what Stamler did here and I told them of the heart program.

"They were to call me back if there was any suspicion of anything wrong or if he should not be kept on.

"The FBI did not call back except to ask that when he (Stamler) traveled abroad to let them know why and where. "To the best of my knowledge, the FBI did not want us to take any action against him."

Mrs. Hall joined the board with Dr. Stamler in 1958. She has a master's degree in nutrition and is paid \$775 monthly on a direct federal grant.

David Englestein, 61, of 737 W. Belden, told The Sun-Times he didn't know why he was subpoenaed.

## Naturalized Citizen

An employee of the Avalon Truck and Auto Parts Co.,

7370 South Chicago, he is an naturalized citizen who came to the United States from Montreal in 1930.

Others subpoenaed are:

Milton M. Cohen, 50, of 5428 S. Kimbark; Dorothy M. Hayes, 56, of 4411 S. Everett; Wilberforce Jones, 3827 S. Michigan; Versta Miller, 3851 S. Ellis; Leon J. Jennings, 6444 S. Eberhart; Benjamin Friedlander, 55, of 5345 S. Kimbark; Mrs. Helen Furine Queen, 5017 W. Quincy, and Louis Diskin.

In its probes, the House committee traditionally subpoenas persons both pro- and anti-Communist.

[Chicago Sun Times, May 14, 1965]

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The Board of Health specialist is Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, 45, internationally known expert in the cardio-vascular field.

He heads a staff of about 40 persons doing research on cardio-vascular conditions, cancer and diabetes. His \$21,000-a-year salary, however, comes from state and federal funds, not from the city.

Dr. Stamler, who was in Bethesda, Md., conferring on research projects with other specialists at the National Institutes of Health, canceled his appointments and flew back to Chicago where he issued a statement.

## Tells Of Work

It said he had been in Chicago since 1947 directing a heart disease control program here, particularly in the field of premature heart attacks.

"These activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as I understand them, can have only one consequence, an entirely negative one," Dr. Stamler's statement said, "and that is to do great harm to a vital long-term program to combat heart diseases.

"I will do all I can with dignity and in a lawful fashion to protect this work and its integrity and to maintain my reputation as a scientist, a dedicated public servant and a human being."

Also subpoenaed was one of his assistants at the Board of Health, Mrs. Yolanda Hall, 43.

Dr. Samuel L. Andelman, Chicago health commissioner, said of Dr. Stamler's subpoena:

"Frankly, I don't know why he is being called before the committee.

## Contacted By FBI

"Some time back, over a year ago, the Federal Bureau of Investigation contacted me to find out exactly what

Stamler did here and I told them of the heart program.

"They were to call me back if there was any suspicion of anything wrong or if he should not be kept on."

"The FBI did not call back except to ask that when he (Stamler) traveled abroad to let them know why and where.

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In its probes, the House committee traditionally subpoenas persons both pro- and anti-Communist.

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

EXHIBIT 13

[Chicago Tribune, May 14, 1965]

## City Doctor Gets Red Quiz Subpena

A Chicago health department official, known for his research in heart ailments, is among 11 persons subpoenaed to testify at hearings of the House un-American activities committee starting May 25, it was disclosed yesterday.

Dr. Samuel L. Andelman, health commissioner, said he first learned yesterday morning that Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, 45, director of the department's division of adult health and aging, was under subpoena. He is paid \$20,322 a year, and Andelman said about 40 employees work under him.

### Declines to Comment

Dr. Stamler, who was attending a meeting at the National Institutes of Health, in Bethesda, Md., declined comment pending his return to Chicago today.

Mayor Daley, meanwhile, said reports of communist infiltration in city departments was news to him.

He said he had ordered Thomas J. McInerney, city commissioner of investigation, to look into the reports.

When reporters left, Daley conferred behind closed doors for an hour with Andelman, McInerney, and Earl Bush, the mayor's public relations director. None would comment as they emerged.

The disclosure of the subpoena came as the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation announced that Dr. Stamler was a winner of one of the Foundation's medical journalism awards.

He and Alton Blakeslee, Associated Press science writer, received an award for their series, "Your Heart Has Nine Lives." Award winners received \$2,500, a gold statuette, and a citation.

### Meeting Is Scheduled

Richard Crowley, secretary of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 431 S. Dearborn st., a branch of the national committee seeking to abolish the House un-Americans activities committee, said his committee was meeting last night in Chicago with those subpoenaed.

In Washington, Chairman Edwin E. Willis [D., La.] of the House committee said it would violate committee rules to identify those subpoenaed. The hearings here, to be held in the Federal building, are to deal with Communist party activities in Illinois, he said. Hearings will be held later in other states.

THE TRIBUNE disclosed in August, 1964, that committee investigators had been in Chicago six weeks, and that the hearings then were planned for this spring.

5/19/65

## EXHIBIT 14

[Chicago Tribune, May 14, 1965]

# Heart Expert Subpoenaed in Red Quiz

## He's Member of Department of Health

A Chicago health department official, known for his research in heart ailments, is among 11 persons subpoenaed to testify at hearings at the House un-American activities committee starting May 25, it was disclosed yesterday.

Dr. Samuel L. Andelman, health commissioner, said he first learned yesterday morning that Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, 45, director of the department's division of adult health and aging, was under subpoena. He is paid \$20,322 a year, and Andelman said about 40 employees work under him.

### Declines to Comment

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his return to Chicago today. Mayor Daley, meanwhile, said reports of communist infiltration in city departments was news to him.

He said he had ordered Thomas J. McInerney, city commissioner of investigation, to look into the reports. He said that if a city employee was disclosed to be a Communist, "The mayor of Chicago will act immediately."

As Daley was talking to reporters, Andelman and McInerney were conferring in an anteroom of the mayor's office.

### Meets in Private

When reporters left, Daley conferred behind closed doors for an hour with Andelman, McInerney, and Earl Bush, the mayor's public relations director. None would comment as they emerged.

Daley pledged full cooperation in the investigation as did Andelman.

Andelman said he had not talked to Dr. Stamler, but that

the doctor is due in Chicago today and he would talk to him then.

"I know him as a prominent heart researcher who was highly recommended by the heart association," Andelman said. "He is internationally known and highly regarded in his profession. I don't know the purpose of the subpoena yet. I will be guided by findings of the committee."

Andelman said Stamler had been with the health department since 1958. Earlier he had been with the Michael Reese hospital's research institute.

The disclosure of the subpoena came as the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation announced that Dr. Stamler was a winner of one of the Foundation's medical journalism awards.

He and Alton Blakeslee, Associated Press science writer, received an award for their series, "Your Heart Has Nine Lives." Award winners received \$2,500, a gold statuette,

and a citation.

### Meeting Is Scheduled

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The Tribune disclosed in August, 1964, that committee investigators had been in Chicago six weeks, and that the hearings then were planned for this spring.

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 15

[Chicago Daily News, May 14, 1965]

## House Probe Foes Map Protests Here

BY JAMES S. LEWIS

Liberal and left-wing organizations have planned a mass rally, picketing and telephone calls to Chicago area congressmen to protest House Un-American Activities Committee hearings here later this month.

Nine of 11 Chicagoans known to have been subpoenaed were among more than 75 persons crammed into a small room Thursday night at a meeting to plan the series of protests.

The meeting was called by the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. It was held in the office of the American Friends Service Committee, 431 S. Dearborn.

The HUAC hearings are scheduled for May 25-27 in the U.S. Courthouse, 219 S. Dearborn.

**THE ANTI-HUAC** forces are starting their campaign Friday with a series of telephone calls to eight of the Chicago area's 13 congressmen urging them to pressure the committee into canceling the hearings.

The other five congressmen, they felt, would not be cooperative.

Other plans, all based on an assumed failure to get the hearings canceled, include a mass meeting Sunday, May 23, picketing of the U.S. Courthouse all three days of the hearings, and free legal aid for those under subpoena.

The rally was planned for the first Congregational Church of Chicago, 1613 W. Washington. It seats 1,000 persons.

**THE BEST-KNOWN** of the 11 receiving subpoenas, Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, heart specialist for the Chicago Board of Health, was receiving a medical journalism award from Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey at the time of Thursday's meeting.

Also absent was Mrs. Yolanda Hall, 43, an assistant researcher for the Board of Health.

They are the only two city employees subpoenaed. Those subpoenaed who attended the meeting were:

• Milton M. Cohen, 50, of

5428 S. Kimbark, a former teacher of Marxist fundamentals in the Abraham Lincoln School, an institution run by the Communist Party.

• Louis Diskin, manager of the left-wing Modern Book Store, 56 E. Chicago Ave., which carries Communist literature and was bombed last year.

• Wilberforce Jones, 3827 S. Michigan, member and former steward of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO.

• Mrs. Leon Joy Jennings, 6444 S. Elmhurst, also active in the UAW.

• Vera Miller, 3851 S. Ellis.

• Mrs. Helen Foline Queen, 5017 W. Quincy. "We're surprised they subpoenaed her and not her husband," was a comment made when he was introduced. Her husband, Daniel Queen, an engineer, was ordered in 1963 to register as a Communist.

• Benjamin Friedlander, 55, of 5345 S. Kimbark, a chemist.

• David Englestein, 61, of 737 W. Belden, a naturalized citizen who came here from Moscow when he was 19.

• Milton M. Cohen, 50, of

• Mrs. Dorothy Hayes, 56, a worker.

**RELEASE OF** the names of those subpoenaed in advance of a hearing is a violation of HUAC's own rules, said Richard Criley, secretary of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights.

"HUAC at one time subpoenaed 125 California school teachers," then called off the hearings," Criley said. "And many of them lost their jobs."

"In addition, many who are subpoenaed for a hearing then do come off are never called to testify."

Criley told the group that the leak came through members of the Chicago Police Department "Red squad," which served the subpoenas.

The Rev. William T. Baird, a white minister wearing a button signifying his membership in The Woodlawn Organization,

was chairman of the meeting as executive director of the Chicago committee.

Most of the group were representatives of organizations, including church groups, ranging from liberal to leftist.

There were about a dozen students, but only eight members of the Chicago committee, which was formed five years ago, chiefly to fight the House committee.

**DR. STAMLER** issued a statement, stating in part:

"I was displeased to learn of the stories about the House Un-American Activities Committee. I have not yet had an opportunity to discuss these matters with my superiors and colleagues, and I anticipate doing so Friday."

"Pending this, I have this

initial reaction: These activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as I understand them, can have only one consequence, an entirely negative one—if this is allowed—and that is to do harm to a vital long-term program to combat heart diseases."

Dr. Stamler was hired in April, 1958, by the Board of Health, and earns about \$21,000 a year, according to his superior, Dr. Samuel L. Andolsman, Chicago health commissioner.

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 16

[Chicago Sun Times, May 15, 1965]

**Stamler Signs Affidavit Of Loyalty**

Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, Chicago, which was turned over to the Chicago Board of Health research specialist, signed an affidavit Friday swearing his allegiance to the United States.

Stamler, an internationally known expert in cardiovascular ailments, is one of 11 persons subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee when it comes here May 25-27.

The affidavit, a copy of

Mayor Daley, said in part:

"I swear allegiance to the American flag and the Constitution of the United States. At

no time during my association with the Chicago Board of Health have I engaged in subversive activities of any kind, nor have I actively consorted with groups or individuals with such objectives.

"I am a loyal American citizen."

zen and I neither recognize nor intend any obligation in the future to any nation other than my own."

Stamler signed the affidavit after meeting with Health Comr. Dr. Samuel L. Andelman, and Dr. Eric Oldberg, president of the board.

Stamler, 45, is director of the health department's Adult Health and Aging Division.

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 17

[Chicago Sun Times, May 15, 1965]

# Stamler Signs Affidavit Of U.S. Allegiance

Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, Chicago Board of Health research specialist, signed an affidavit Friday swearing his allegiance to the United States.

Stamler, an internationally known expert in cardio-vascular ailments, is one of 11 persons subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee when it comes here May 25-27.

The affidavit, a copy of which was turned over to Mayor Daley, said in part:

"I swear allegiance to the American flag and the Constitution of the United States. At no time during my association with the Chicago Board of Health have I engaged in subversive activities of any kind, nor have I actively consorted with groups or individuals with such objectives.

"I am a loyal American citizen and I neither recognize nor intend any obligation in the future to any nation other than my own."

Stamler signed the affidavit after meeting with Health Comr. Dr. Samuel L. Andelman, and Dr. Eric Oldberg, president of the board.

Stamler, 45, is director of the health department's Adult Health and Aging Division.

STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

EXHIBIT 18

[Chicago Tribune, May 15, 1965]

# DOCTOR SIGNS LOYALTY OATH IN RED PROBE

## Good American, Says Health Official

Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, a Chicago health department official who is one of 11 persons subpoenaed by the House un-American activities committee to testify at its upcoming investigation into Communist party activities in Illinois, signed a statement here yesterday saying that "I swear allegiance to the American flag and to the Constitution of the United States."

The statement was distributed to newsmen by Dr. Eric Oldberg, president of the board of health, who said Dr. Stamler agreed to draft the statement and sign it after a conference with Dr. Oldberg and Dr. Samuel Andelman, health commissioner.

### "A Loyal American"

"At no time during my association with the Chicago board of health have I engaged in subversive activities of any kind," Dr. Stamler's statement continued, "nor have I actively consorted with groups or individuals with such objectives."

"I am a loyal American citizen, and I neither recognize,

nor intend any obligation in the future, to any nation other than my own."

Dr. Oldberg said Dr. Stamler has not been suspended and will remain on the department's payroll. "There's nothing to do but let the hearings come up," Dr. Oldberg continued. The hearings open here May 23.

Dr. Stamler, 45, director of the department's division of adult health and aging, is a recognized expert on research into heart attacks and strokes.

Dr. Stamler told a reporter he was "surprised" by the subpoena, but declined to discuss the matter further than passing out a prepared statement.

In the statement he said he was "displeased" to see newspaper stories identifying him as one of those under subpoena.

### Sees Negative Effect

"The activities of the House un-American activities committee as I understand them and relate to them can have only one consequence, an entirely negative one, and that is to do great harm to a vital long-term program to combat heart diseases."

Meanwhile, THE TRIBUNE learned that Dr. Stamler, who is paid \$20,322 a year and is in charge of about 40 employees, told Dr. Andelman that he does not know why he was subpoenaed.

Thomas J. McInerney, Mayor Daley's commissioner of investigations, said that he is continuing to look into reports charging communist infiltration of a city department. He said he expects to have a report ready for the mayor by the middle of next week.

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 19

[Chicago American, May 15, 1965]

Dr. Stamler

Swears: Not a

Subversive

Dr. Eric Oldberg, president of the Chicago board of health, has released the text of a loyalty oath signed yesterday by Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, one of 11 persons subpoenaed to appear before the House un-American activities committee which opens 3 days of hearings here May 25.

Dr. Stamler, a heart researcher and director of the health department's division of adult health and aging, signed the oath after conferring with Dr. Oldberg and Dr. Samuel L. Andelman, city health commissioner. The text follows:

"This will certify that I swear allegiance to the American flag and the Constitution of the United States. At no time during my association with the Chicago board of health have I engaged in subversive activities of any kind, nor have I actively consorted with groups or individuals with such objectives.

"I am a loyal American citizen and I neither recognize nor intend any obligation in the future to any nation other than my own."

[Chicago Daily News, May 18, 1965]

# Prokers' Letter Called 'An Invitation to Panic'

BY JAMES S. LEWIS

A letter sent to perhaps as many as 100 Chicagoans by the House Un-American Activities Committee has been called "an invitation to panic" by anti-HUAC people here.

The letter, sent last week under the signature of HUAC Chairman Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.), told recipients they had been named as having been a member of the Communist Party.

The letter was identified as "not a subpoena" but invited those named to appear before a closed session of the committee and also invited them to request the committee "to subpoena additional witnesses."

THE NUMBER of these form letters sent to Chicago area people is known only to HUAC, but the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights reported receiving calls from at least 30 local persons.

Eleven Chicagoans were known to have been served subpoenas directly from the House committee. These persons also received the letters, according to Richard Criley, secretary of the Chicago committee.

Criley said he had checked with Frank Wilkinson, chair-

man of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC, and said that the volume of such letters sent out was higher than for any previous HUAC hearing.

"Most people who get such letters don't talk to anybody about them," Criley said. "But with at least 30 people calling us, the number sent out is conservatively 100."

"They (congressmen on the HUAC committee) have no legislative purpose here at all," Criley said.

FIVE MEMBERS of the nine-man House committee are scheduled to open a three-day hearing here next Tuesday in the U.S. Courthouse "to investigate the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party in the Chicago area."

"It's the most stinking example of McCarthyism I can remember," Criley said. "It's a classic case of exposure for the sake of exposure. Some of these frantic people (who received the letter) might throw in another hundred names."

"In effect, HUAC is telling these people that if they don't appear in a closed session on its terms, they will be named by somebody else in an open hearing."

THE LETTER in full reads: "Pursuant to House Rule XI, 26-M, the Committee on

Un-American Activities has received certain evidence and testimony in executive (closed) session, in the course of which a person by the name of (name of addressee), a resident of Chicago, Ill., was identified as having been a member of the Communist Party.

"If you so desire, you will be afforded an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness before a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities at a time and place to be designated.

"According to the general practice of the committee, this hearing shall be conducted in executive session.

"You may also request the committee to subpoena additional witnesses.

"If you desire to avail yourself of the opportunities thus afforded you, you should so advise the Director of the Committee no later than Tuesday, May 18, 1965. He may be reached at Room 226, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, 25, D.C.; Tel. Capitol 4-3121, Extension 3051.

"This is not a subpoena or a summons requiring you to appear.

"Very truly yours, E. E. Willis, Chairman."

[Chicago Sun Times, May 19, 1965]

# 30 Chicagoans Invited Before Red Probe Here

At least 30 Chicagoans reportedly have received letters from the House Un-American Activities Committee informing them that they were named as having been members of the Communist Party.

The letters invite recipients to appear before the subcommittee "at a time and place to be designated." They do not carry the power of subpoena.

A Chicago Theological Seminary professor immediately assailed the letters as a "veiled threat that the recipients will be named in the Chicago hearings."

## Called Diabolic

Dr. Victor Obenhaus, professor of Christian ethics and vice chairman of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, who did not receive a letter from the committee, declared:

"The whole thing is preposterous. What right do they (the committee) have to ask you to clear yourself if there are no charges? The veiled threat this contains is simply diabolic."

The 30 or more committee letters were reported by the recipients to Richard Criley, secretary of the Bill of Rights Committee, 431 S. Dearborn.

Criley estimated that 100 or more Chicagoans have

received letters, explaining that "most people wouldn't tell anybody if they got a letter of this type."

## 'Ordinary People'

Criley said the 30 persons who telephoned his committee were "ordinary people who have been involved in some sort of social concern."

He termed the invitation to meet with the committee an effort to force a recipient to inform on other persons to "save your own skin."

Subpenas already have been issued to 11 persons in the Chicago area, including Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, heart specialist for the Chicago Board of Health, to appear at committee hearings in Chicago beginning next Tuesday.

The letters, Criley said, read in part:

"If you so desire, you will afforded an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness before a subcommittee.

## Closed Session

"According to the general practice of this committee, the hearing shall be conducted in executive (closed) session.

"You may also request the committee to subpoena additional witnesses."

Criley said the letters carry the signature of Rep. Edwin E.

Willis (D-La.), committee chairman.

Also Tuesday, the Illinois division of the American Civil Liberties Union expressed "great dismay that officials of the Chicago Board of Health felt it necessary" for Dr. Stamler to sign a loyalty oath.

Stamler signed the oath last week after he received the subpoena.

Franklyn S. Haiman, Illinois ACLU chairman, said a subpoena from the committee should not be considered important enough to provoke loyalty oaths or investigations in city departments.

He said the committee "persists in conduct widely discredited and condemned."

The president of the Board of Health, Dr. Eric Oldberg, termed the ACLU stand "utterly ridiculous."

## Oldberg's Stand

Oldberg said he had asked Dr. Stamler "if he would sign this thing to take him off the griddle. I didn't demand it; I merely asked him and he agreed immediately. They were building fires under him and rumors were starting."

Oldberg said he had advised against a suggestion "from someone that he take a leave of absence until the hearings were over." Oldberg said such a leave would be "an admission of some sort of wrongdoing."

He said Dr. Stamler's work has been "outstanding," and added he would be willing to appear as a witness for Dr. Stamler.

Dr. Stamler declined to comment on the ACLU criticism.

## STAMLER-HALL EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

## EXHIBIT 22

[Chicago Daily News, May 19, 1965]

# Loyalty Statement Won't Free Dr. Stamler from Anti-Red Quiz

BY JAMES S. LEWIS

Although Dr. Jeremiah Stamler of the Chicago Board of Health announced he has signed a loyalty oath, he cannot be separated from those subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee here next week.

This is the ruling of U.S. Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.), Un-American Activities Committee chairman, when advised by telephone that Dr. Stamler had issued a statement of loyalty to the U.S. flag and Constitution.

"That's what you say he said," Rep. Willis replied.

Dr. Stamler, 45, is a nationally known heart disease specialist and is director of the health department's adult health and aging department.

DR. STAMLER'S statement, issued last week at the suggestion of Dr. Eric Oldberg, president of the health board, was apparently not considered a loyalty oath by either side in the upcoming hearings.

"It was an oath of affirmation, like any of us give when

we pledge allegiance to the flag," said Chicago's chief Un-American Activities Committee for Richard Criley, secretary of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights.

"It's certainly not a loyalty oath by HUAC standards," Rep. Willis said. He had no further comment on Stamler nor about the number of letters sent to Chicagoans inviting them to testify in closed session. The hearings open next Tuesday.

The letters told Chicagoans they had been identified as having been Communists and invited them to testify and, if they wished, to name others, to help clear their names.

Criley estimates the number of letters at 100, based on 30 calls his office received from recipients. "Most people who get such letters don't talk to anybody," Criley explained.

REP. WILLIS said the letters were standard procedure and were sent "to individuals likely to be named in a public hearing" in the atmosphere "of decency and fair play."

Willis also denied responsibility for leaking the names of at least 11 persons subpoenaed to testify before the three-day

hearings set to begin Tuesday in the U.S. Courthouse here.

"I don't know why Criley leaked the names," he said. "Criley has four times been named a member of the Communist Party, and he has never denied the charge."

Asked if he meant Criley instead of Crider, Rep. Willis said "Yes, I do. Criley."

The names of those known to be subpoenaed were made public, against the House Committee's Rule 26, by another newspaper in Chicago, which, according to Criley, misquoted him as a pretext for running the names.

The names came from the Chicago Police "Red Squad," and not from him, Criley asserted, adding that the newspaper had the names long before he did.

THE AMERICAN Civil Liberties Union, meanwhile, attacked the subpoena of Dr. Stamler "from a Congressional committee which persists in conducting hearings widely discredited and condemned even by American President."

Franklyn S. Haiman, ACLU chairman in Illinois, wrote Dr. Oldberg that the ACLU "has

noted with dismay the fact that officials of the Chicago Board of Health felt it necessary for Dr. Jeremiah Stamler to sign a statement declaring his loyalty and non-participation in 'subversive' activities, whatever those may be."

IN SPRINGFIELD, the Rev. C. T. Vivian, one of the Rev. Martin Luther King's lieutenants, attacked the House Committee hearings in a civil rights speech on the steps of the Illinois Capitol.

"The real desire of the committee is to assassinate the civil rights movement with smear tactics, and to go after SNCC and CORE." (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and Congress of Racial Equality, two active civil rights groups.)

The chairman of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, University of Chicago Prof. Robert J. Havighurst, has been out of town since the hearings were announced a week ago.

The committee, however, in his absence, has planned a rally to protest the hearings at 7 p.m. Sunday in the First Congregational Church of Chicago, 1613 W. Washington.

## EXHIBIT 23

[Austin News, May 19, 1965]

3 from Austin • bpenaed

# Claims UPG Leader May Testify at House Hearings

A spokesman for the committee defending three Austin residents and eight others subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities committee at its May 25-27 hearings indicated that a United Property Group spokesman may also testify.

"But there's this difference," said Richard Criley, secretary to the Chicago committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, "this UPG spokesman, who has a funny sounding Italian name, would have volunteered his testimony and would thus be what is called a friendly witness. The persons who are subpoenaed are considered by the public to be unwilling to appear."

Robert Bacigalupo, UPG president, said he had not been asked to appear at the hearings, adding however, that he believed UPG efforts had been instrumental in bringing the activities of some Austin residents to the attention of the proper authorities.

• • •

Reported to have been subpoenaed for the congressional committee hearings were Mrs. Yolanda Hall, 5515 Race; Louis Deskin, whose last known address was 4639 Jackson and Mrs. Helen Fotine Queen, 5017 Quincy.

Deskin, contacted at the Modern Book Store, 56 E. Chicago, which he manages, said he had been advised not to answer any questions, referring callers to the Defend the Bill of Rights committee.

"All of the subpoenaed people met last night," he said Friday, "and were advised to refer everyone to the committee. There's a legal question involved."

Criley said attorneys for his committee hoped to obtain a federal injunction against the May 25-27 hearings based on a violation of the Un-American Activities committee rules prohibiting release of the names of those subpoenaed prior to the hearings.

He claims someone associated with that committee purposely "leaked" the names to a reporter on a daily newspaper. Another source, however, claims

the information came from the policemen who served the subpoenas.

• • •

Deskin, who reportedly carries leftist literature in his book store, is listed as once serving as the New York chairman of the Labor Youth league, earlier known as the Young Communist league.

Mrs. Queen is the wife of Daniel Queen, charged with heading the Illinois youth section of the Communist party by the subversive activity control board. He was ordered in 1963 to register as a member of the Communist party under the McCarron act but refused to do so.

Mrs. Hall, wife of Charles Hall, who reportedly was removed from his post as a volunteer leader with the Cub Scouts, is employed as an assistant to Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, board of health heart specialist, also subpoenaed.

Dr. Stamler has since signed a loyalty oath.

Page 12N\*—May 19, 1965

COMMUNITY PUBLICATIONS

## Heard And Seen

BY MARY STUART

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY**—"I am not afraid of catastrophe in the war. I am, however, afraid, and deeply afraid, of the destruction of our republican form of government under excuse of war."—Col. ROBERT R. McCORMICK (1913).

**THE UN-AMERICAN** congressional committee may find a fertile field here. Both pro and anti-communists will be called to obtain information. A woman in 1949 was "refused a teaching position in the Chicago schools on grounds of Communist connections." One wonders why she is now in the Chicago Health dept. — acting as an aide to a prominent physician? She is on the federal payroll at \$775 per month.

COHEN EXHIBIT No. 1

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS  
EASTERN DIVISION**

JEREMIAH STAMLER, M.D. and	)	
YOLANDA F. HALL,	)	
	)	
Plaintiffs,	)	
	)	
vs.	)	No.
	)	
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS, et al.,	)	
	)	
Defendants.	)	

**PETITION FOR LEAVE TO INTERVENE  
AS AN ADDITIONAL PARTY PLAINTIFF**

Now comes Milton M. Cohen, by his attorney, Richard Orlkoff, and petitions this Court for leave to intervene in the above captioned matter as an additional party plaintiff.

In support of the foregoing petition plaintiff states as follows:

1. Plaintiff is a citizen of the State of Illinois and of the United States. Plaintiff is the Executive Director of Parkview Homes, a home for the aged operated by Parkview Homes, an unincorporated charitable institution affiliated with the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago, which also is a charitable organization. Plaintiff holds a Master of Social Studies (M.S.S.) degree from the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration.

2. The defendants in the above-captioned suit have caused to be issued and served upon petitioner that certain subpoena, a copy of which is annexed hereto as Exhibit 1, which directs plaintiff to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee, or a duly appointed sub-

COHEN EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

-2-

committee thereof, to be convened in Chicago, Illinois, on May 25, 1965, at 10:30 A.M.

3. For several years petitioner has been active in Chicago, Illinois, both privately and in conjunction with various civic organizations, in efforts to secure for Negro citizens the rights guaranteed them by the federal constitution. Petitioner alleges upon information and belief that certain persons, some of whom are named in the exhibits attached hereto, and some of whose names and identities are unknown to petitioner, have induced defendants to issue a subpoena to petitioner, not for any authorized or legitimate legislative purpose or investigation, but solely in order to intimidate and deter petitioner and others who have carried on such activities, both in Chicago and elsewhere in the United States, from carrying on those activities in the future.

4. Petitioner herein adopts and realleges as though fully set forth herein, and as though alleged on behalf of petitioner, the following paragraphs of the complaint filed in the above-captioned matter:

3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10(a), 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17,  
and 18.

Petitioner further prays that the Court grant to him, and for his benefit, the relief requested in the Complaint filed herein.

WHEREFORE Petitioner respectfully requests that the Court grant leave to petitioner to intervene in the above-captioned matter

COHEN EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

-3-

as an additional party plaintiff, and that the foregoing Petition stand as plaintiff's complaint in this matter.

---

Richard Orlikoff  
7 S. Dearborn Street  
Chicago, Illinois

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS  
EASTERN DIVISION

JEREMIAH STAMLER, M.D., et al,	)	
	)	
Plaintiffs,	)	
	)	
v.	)	NO. 65 C 800
	)	
Hon. Edwin E. Willis, et al.,	)	
	)	
Defendants.	)	

O R D E R

This matter coming on to be heard on the motions of plaintiffs, joined in by intervenor, Milton M. Cohen, for a temporary restraining order, to require defendants to respond to plaintiffs' complaint and for an order fixing the date upon which to convene a three Judge Court, and the Court having heard argument of counsel and being fully advised in the premises;

IT IS HEREBY ORDERED that the motions of plaintiffs, joined in by said intervenor, be and the same hereby are denied.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that the complaint and the intervening complaint be and the same are hereby dismissed.

ENTER:

---

[Julius J. Hoffman] J U D G E

DATED: May 24, 1965



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<sup>2</sup> Appears as Deskin.

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